

WILLIAM A. WHITE
1870-1937

IN MEMORIAM

William Alanson White, M.D.

1870-1937

Dr. William A. White died at Washington on March 7, 1937. When, at the age of thirty-three, he was appointed Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, he had behind him eleven years of psychiatric experience on the staff of Binghamton (N. Y.) State Hospital. He served at St. Elizabeths Hospital for nearly thirty-four years, and these thirty-four years were truly eventful and fruitful. Keen, kindly, intellectually always alive and always searching, a man of philosophic breadth and yet truly practical, a mind in constant quest of a synthesis of what man knows about man and yet of the utmost simplicity and directness, he was as curious as he was courageous, both in his scientific and in his administrative work. To use his own expression, he worked hard and played hard; he was one of those rare individuals who, on the threshold of their chronological senium, remain young, progressive, and not only receptive to new ideas but ready to make proselytes to them in the open and with the conviction of genuine youth. A prodigious worker and a prolific writer, he left behind him a voluminous bibliography which includes classics such as the text book of Neurology and Psychiatry written in collaboration with his lifelong friend Smith Ely Jelliffe, the Outline of Psychiatry, and a number of works of lasting interest such as the Meaning of Disease, Twentieth Century Psychiatry, and Forty Years of Psychiatry. One could evaluate Dr. White equally as an admirable hospital administrator, as a keen writer, or as a teacher of psychiatry, and find that in each, his was no minor contribution in the administrative, literary and didactic fields. These aspects have all been adequately discussed by his colleagues and pupils in the various psychiatric publications.

There is one aspect of Dr. White's scientific life which is of particular moment, and this is his rôle in the history of American psychiatry. He started his medical career in the

closing years of the past century. European psychiatry at that time was at the crossroads of a new era, which was not sensed by many and appreciated by comparatively few. The dominance of the French orientation, which was established by Pinel towards the close of the 18th century, was fading—Charcot being one of the last stars of first magnitude on the neuro-psychiatric horizon. The German influence, which began to assert itself with Griesinger, had not yet reached its full strength, which was to come with Kraepelin. As to the United States—there did not exist as yet real American psychiatry. For about one half of a century America had been busy opening new hospitals for mental diseases; they were mostly asylums, to be sure, but under the influence of Pinel—and particularly of the Tukes—the attention of the forward-looking psychiatrist was mainly concentrated on the problem of humanizing the care of the mentally sick. It is interesting in this connection to note that Dr. White not only participated in, but actually made history; he started his career at the very beginning of the transformation of asylums into hospitals, and when it came to a close, we find Dr. White at the head of a model mental hospital, which had become a therapeutic, research, and teaching, institution. Even Dr. White's appearance symbolized his development. Jelliffe amusingly calls attention to a photograph of White, published in the State Hospital Bulletin on a program of a concert of the Binghamton State Hospital Symphony Club, given on March 6, 1896, where he appears 'heavily bearded and equally black-moustached'. Most of us remember only the modern cleanshaven, serene countenance of Dr. White. Modern he was too, in that he kept abreast with the age even to the point of being one of the most consistent proponents of psychoanalysis. I say 'even' advisedly, despite the fact that White as founder of *The Psychoanalytic Review*, as one of the founders of the American Psychoanalytic Association and one of its presidents, as a contributing editor to *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, became a thoroughly familiar name wherever psychoanalysis was written or talked about, or studied. For as we shall see, it

required unusual courage to identify oneself with psychoanalysis; it required also masterful ability to continue to be known as a proponent of psychoanalysis and yet become President of the American Psychiatric Association, and die a veteran superintendent of one of the largest mental hospitals in the country.

He was an avid reader; the scope of his reading was unusually broad—history, philosophy, biology, anthropology, sociology—and his writings bear testimony to wide and close acquaintance with a number of branches of human knowledge outside the confines of psychiatry and psychoanalysis. As a matter of fact, White represented a modern edition of the early seventeenth century erudite doctor. Our colleagues of the seventeenth century specialized in classical philology; they were unusually enthusiastic bibliophiles, since books were at that time the chief source of medical knowledge, and contained the only hope for the restoration of the lost art of classical medicine. In order to gain a scientific foothold, they had to dig into the past and entrench themselves in it for a while. The doctor of the early years of the twentieth century, if he became interested in psychopathology, had to become an erudite man of broad cultural interests, searching every branch of human knowledge for data on the human mind. To become entrenched in the dissecting room, or at the microtome, meant to turn away from psychiatry and not toward it. This few felt or understood and still fewer accomplished. Not so Dr. White; he sensed it with unusual keenness, and he followed his quest for knowledge with an open and avid mind.

One will appreciate particularly this evolution, or the achievement of White's orientation in psychiatry, if one peruses the addresses of the Presidents of the American Psychiatric Association since 1926, and compares them with White's presidential address delivered at the 81st meeting of that Association, held at Richmond, Virginia, in May, 1925. Instead of general references to, and faint praise of, psychoanalysis, uttered with ill-concealed malevolence as has since become the custom, White was the first to speak openly and boldly in sup-

port of it. Endowed with a great gift for aphorism, White was not as trenchant nor as pungent as Oliver Wendell Holmes, but he was perhaps even more effective. In the psychiatric profession at least he was unique in this quality of scientific depth, combined with uncanny directness and mellow simplicity of phrase.

For instance, speaking of the early days of his career and of those who were engaged in the practice of psychiatry, and obviously having in mind not a few of his later contemporaries, he stated in the above-mentioned address, 'Those who were engaged in it were credited with learning which they did not have, but which they frequently had to assume'. He also spoke of the 'failure to find something without having a definite idea of what one is looking for', and with apparent reference to the many who are too cautious to accept anything new in psychopathology, 'I have a feeling, if we wait until perfection is attained we will wait for ever'.

As early as 1913 White, in collaboration with Jelliffe, founded *The Psychoanalytic Review*—a bold step which becomes of particular interest if we bear in mind that the word *psychoanalytic* was selected in preference to many others suggested by a great many people at the time.

In the light of the present day seemingly ineradicable tradition of looking into the gray matter and into the gastrointestinal and gonadal physiology for the answer to the question 'why psychopathies', of a tradition which betrays the psychiatrist's insecurity and his consequent desire to prove to the world that he *is* a doctor and *is* 'physiologically minded', it is very interesting to recall the truly revolutionary statement of White made in the course of the same presidential address. He said: 'Whatever blessings, and they are innumerable, the discovery of pathogenic organisms may have brought to mankind, the germ theory of disease with its medieval devils behind it, like the other tradition of the sinfulness of the flesh, has stood in the way consistently of advances in the realm of psychiatry.'

The tendency to embrace the sum total of psychological

phenomena, and to attain a biological synthesis regarding mental illness (Cf. The Meaning of Disease), led White at times to somewhat eclectic views, but his very eclecticism saved him from the dogmatism of academic psychiatry. He thus became a living link between the psychiatric twilight of the early nineties and the more advanced scientific explorations of today. More than that, his was a contribution to the American Declaration of its Psychiatric Independence, for in the course of the last quarter of a century American psychiatry—both in the field of hospital organization and therapeutic advances—definitely took the lead. German psychiatry continues in her post-Kraepelinian classificatory formalism; France, in her way, has advanced little beyond Charcot and Janet and the tradition of *piqûres*; England is steady and with her characteristic slowness, she is barely emerging beyond the confines of custodian humanization which were bequeathed by Conolly and Tuke, while in America the function of the mental hospital, and the theory and practice of psychiatry, proceed along more advanced and more scientific lines than some of its academic presentation might lead us to believe. White's contribution to this metamorphosis of American psychiatry cannot be overestimated. For a while he was almost alone in many aspects of this forward march. He left behind him a solid structure, the creation of which he boldly outlined almost at the very beginning of his psychiatric maturity.

G. Z.

THE FANTASY OF DIRT

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Introduction

In the course of this paper it will seem at times as though an attempt were being made to claim that there is no such thing as dirt. Such is not our purpose or meaning; but rather to describe the complex system of fantasies which lurk behind the reality of dirt and which manifest themselves both in the structure of the neurosis and in many significant aspects of adult human life. Nevertheless it is true that we acknowledge no 'innate' or inherent distinctions between clean and dirty, whether on the basis of consistency, color, form, smell, utility, waste, or any combinations of these.¹ Instead, the concept of dirt is looked upon throughout rather as the outcome of an emotional judgment which is imposed by the environment upon the ego of the developing infant. Furthermore it is found to be infested with a surprising array of conflicting and fantastic implications. It should hardly be necessary to state explicitly what ought to be obvious, namely, that in the concept of dirt there is a nucleus of pragmatic reality; but that because of the unconscious distortions and elaborations of the concept the imaginary components play a far more significant rôle in daily life than does this realistic kernel. Therefore it is justifiable to emphasize this aspect of the problem by writing of the *fantasy* rather than of the *reality* of dirt.

It is generally understood that the unconscious fantasies which cluster about any reality may have more significance than does the reality itself, but it seems that psychoanalysis has

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¹ The reactions of lower animals, primates, and of the infants of different primitive peoples are relevant to this point: but a discussion of these, insofar as the data are available, will have to be reserved for another communication.

been guided by this principle more consistently when dealing with the concept of mutilation than when dealing with the concept of dirt. Thus it is an accepted fact that every human being faces the possibility of real physical injury, and that an important part of the development of every child is concerned with his efforts to cope with a growing awareness that he can in actuality be mutilated and that he in turn can mutilate others. Over and beyond this, however, it is known that recurrently much of this struggle focuses on the genitalia; and that as the child develops he must master not only a reasonable dread of possible forms of injury or mutilation, but a psychologically more destructive cloud of impossible, unconscious, and fantastic terrors as well. When stress is laid therefore on the fantastic nature of these neurotic yet universal terrors, it is understood that no one is denying that danger itself can be real.

The feeling of disgust, on the other hand, is usually treated quite differently, almost as though this reaction in and of itself was enough to settle the question of whether something was or was not dirty, and as though there were no unconscious fantasies to be disentangled from whatever reality may warrant the feeling. Naturally, in outspoken manifestations of misophobia, or in the classical hysterical reversals of affect about libidinal cravings, the pathological nature of the feeling of disgust is recognized; but short of these extreme cases there is a tendency to be significantly uncritical of the responses of people to what they call dirt.

It will be our first task, therefore, to show that we scarcely know what is meant by the word 'dirt', that there exists neither a psychoanalytic nor yet a reasonable pragmatic definition of dirt, and that in general our behavior towards things that are usually thought of as 'dirty' is replete with paradoxes, absurdities, confused assumptions, and mutually contradictory implications and premises. Also it will appear that our *mores*, our personal idiosyncrasies, our neuroses, and our very analytic theories reflect this confusion.

The Body as Dirt Factory. Protection of the Outsides from the Insides

In his paper on Character and Anal Erotism (6c), Freud suggests parenthetically that 'dirt is matter in the wrong place' (p. 48); but in the context it is made clear that he himself set little store by this suggestion; and surely it is not merely a translocation in space which makes the difference between honey and slime, between food and fæces, or a thousand other similar and perplexing contrasts. Therefore let us seek our definition clinically by observing human behavior. It will then appear that there are objects towards which men behave in a manner which is easily described. They do not consciously want to take these objects into their bodies. They approach them gingerly, if at all. They prefer not to touch them without some intervening protection. And ultimately they feel that they do not want even to *look* at them. These are the qualities of that which is looked upon as dirt, defined in terms of conventionally accepted norms of adult behavior. And now if we turn from the world outside of us to the body itself, we find that there are certain aspects of the body towards which we manifest the same type of behavior. These are the parts of the bodies of animals which are not used as food except under rare and exceptional circumstances, that are not approached freely, and that it is conventional not even to look at openly: to wit, the apertures, and anything which emerges from the apertures.

At this point we must recall that in unconscious language the outside world is never represented by the body, but that the body must always and constantly be represented by the outside world. In other words, and for reasons which we have outlined in a paper on Body Symbolization and the Development of Language (12), the direction of displacement must always be from the body to the outside world. If this is true, everything in the outside world which is looked upon as dirty or disgusting must represent those aspects of the body and its products to which we react in the same way; and the ethnologist should be able to demonstrate that the distinction between

clean and dirty is found in primitive language only after there is segregation of the excretory functions in the community.

It is possible in this way to derive a psychological definition of dirt as being anything which either symbolically or in reality emerges from the body, or which has been sullied by contact with a body aperture. There is here revealed a fantasy which is not the less amazing merely because it is given almost universal and unthinking acceptance, namely, that the body itself creates dirt, and is in fact a kind of animated, mobile dirt factory, exuding filth at every aperture, and that all that is necessary to turn something into dirt is that it should even momentarily enter the body through one of these apertures. Furthermore, and paradoxically, we find that this curious dirt factory, the body, must despite its own uncleanness shun as dirty anything in the outside world which resembles or represents the body's own 'dirt', and that above all else it must never allow its own relatively 'clean' outsides to become contaminated by contact with the filthy interior of itself or of anyone else. (In this aspect of the fantasy is a clue to certain characteristics of the obsessional neurosis, which are discussed below.)

Let us take a few homely illustrations of these general statements.

If you move your tongue around in your mouth, you will become aware of the saliva. To you that saliva does not seem dirty. If then you contemplate your finger, it also presumably looks 'clean'. But now if you put your clean finger into your clean mouth, moisten it with your clean saliva, and stroke your neighbor's cheek with it, he will have to control an impulse to shrink; just as we are troubled if we see a slum mother moisten the corner of her handkerchief with saliva to rub the soot from her baby's nose. Your clean saliva has become his dirt, and not to him alone: now that it has left your mouth you would hesitate to lick it with your own tongue. Thus a lover may shrink from the wetness which his own kisses have left.

Or again, let us think of the very air that we breathe. We do not think of that as being 'filthy'. It may be dusty and

laden with soot, but to that atmosphere we do not react with tension, anxiety, revulsion, and aversion. Let us, however, breathe it into our nasal passages where some of the dust is caught on the ciliated cells of the mucous membranes. Here this dust will be moistened by a fluid exudate. This fluid consists of nothing more appalling than water, salts, and a few diluted molecules of mucoprotein. Nevertheless, when we finally blow this wet and sticky dust out of our nostrils, by the awful alchemy of the body it emerges as filth.

Of food, similar things can be said. Surely it is looked upon as clean when it is taken into our mouths to eat; and none of the chemical processes to which our body subjects it are in any real sense filth-producing. It is split into its assimilable and unassimilable fractions. To the unassimilable fractions are added certain hearty brown and green bile pigments, colors such as every painter uses. Subsequently it is subjected to fermentative processes in the intestinal tracts, which so divide the molecules that volatile fractions are released, which in turn give rise to certain well-known and homely odors. In this way that which is taken into the body as a delicacy emerges as offal.

The fantasies, however, carry us even further. No æsthete can take exception to the color of an egg; but many a loving mother swallows hard when a bit of the yolk rolls out of the corner of her baby's mouth and stains his bib. The untouched fried egg which is brought to the table may excite our appetite; but, when washing up, the dried remnants of that same egg on the spoon or plate excites disgust. This is indeed a powerful and surprising magic.

The facile popular explanation of the idea of dirt is 'something that smells bad'. It is true, of course, that anything that smells in a strange or unexpected fashion is often viewed with mistrust and aversion; but on closer inspection the smell itself often turns out to be identical with some well-known and familiar odor, one which is accepted with equanimity in its usual setting. Furthermore, the examples already given include entirely odorless situations; and conversely there are

many foods whose inherent odors are indistinguishable from those of human excrement and sweat (certain cheeses, high game, etc.). In short, the smell or absence of smell cannot in itself be looked upon as the explanation of the distinction between dirt and cleanliness. On the contrary, smells are taken to mean dirt only when they signal either consciously or unconsciously the threat of contamination from a body's interiors. The situation with regard to taste is similar.

One could cite many other homely illustrations of similar things: the reaction to a few wisps of somebody else's hair in the bath-tub, to a strand of hair in the soup, to touching things which have touched the apertures or even the creases in someone else's body, or for that matter, to touching again after an interval something which one has used one's self without first going through some preliminary rite of rinsing and washing. The fact that there is some bacteriological foundation for some of these precautions does not really lessen their fantastic nature. Because once in a hundred times somebody else's toothbrush or spoon might carry to one a pathogenic organism, does not mean that in all the other ninety-nine times there is an objective æsthetic or bacteriological difference between one's own spittle and that of the rest of the world. It is evident, however, that it is just at this point that the concept of dirt and the concept of danger and disease establish an intimate relationship, the nature of which will have to be dealt with below. Here it is sufficient to point out that there is a tendency to use the bacterial etiology of infectious disease not only as a rationalization of the fear of 'dirt', but actually as a form of projection, in order to escape from a deep and terrifying conviction of sickness through masturbation. 'It is not *I*, or something dirty *I* have done that will make me sick, it is something dirty from the outside.' At this point therefore the fear of dirt is strongly reënforced from another quarter.

Without laboring the point further, it becomes evident that so deeply ingrained is this extraordinary notion, that quite without questioning it we make the assumption that the insides of the body are in fact a cistern, that all of the apertures of the

body are dirty avenues of approach, dirty holes leading into dirty spaces, and that everything which comes out of the body, with the possible exception of tears, is for that reason alone dirty.²

More nearly than anyone else, Jones has sensed the significance of these facts (10a). On page 676 he comments on the unconsciously synonymous nature of the words 'waste' and 'dirty' and 'refuse'. And on page 635, after quoting Sadger, who relates an intense dislike of dirt on the body itself to masturbatory experiences, Jones adds: 'I find that the anal erotic reaction often extends to the inside of the body, *there being a conviction that everything inside is inherently filthy.*' (Italics mine.) 'I have known such people to be unwilling even to insert a finger into their own mouths, and to have the custom of drinking large quantities of water daily with the idea of cleansing the dirty insides of the body.' Furthermore, the problem is raised in a far more complicated form by Melanie Klein in connection with problems which will be dealt with below.

It would seem hard to doubt that this is the unconscious assumption that lies behind the adult concept of dirt, and that this is the unconscious meaning of the word as it is taught to children.

The Unconscious Hierarchies of Dirt

Out of this fantasy there emerges a tacit hierarchy of dirt; i.e., human beings, although they have no way of measuring different degrees of dirtiness, have 'dirt' reactions the intensities of which are quite as finely graded as those which on the positive side of the same scale are looked upon as laws of

² To the child the body is not a group of independent systems—a two or three family house. Often it is all one room, one cavity; and all the apertures are doors and windows leading by various pathways to one single, undifferentiated, stinking mess. (Cf. Homburger, 9.)

The conflicting attitudes to the baby as a body product, and to human milk and semen require special discussion. Towards both, the inconsistencies are at times amazing. The author knows of two young internes in pædiatrics who promptly vomited on discovering that they had unwittingly drunk human milk from the supply in the hospital ice-box.

æsthetic taste. Furthermore, as one might expect, there is a similar hierarchy of the products of the body; so that one can list them in order, from the 'cleanest' (beginning probably with tears) to the 'dirtiest'; and with two outstanding exceptions there would be little or no disagreement as to the order in which they should be arranged, even if the list included such details as ear-wax, the desquamated cells between the toes, nose pickings, hair clippings, nail clippings, sweat from different parts of the body, urine and fæces. The two body-products which could not be placed so exactly in this negative æsthetic scale are milk and semen, about which the most perplexing ambivalence would be manifested. Similarly the various parts of the body can be arranged in such a hierarchy, and the influence of this graded reaction can sometimes be observed in the details of the rituals of an obsessional neurosis.

There are at least four assumptions which one encounters almost universally, and which have their origins in this same fantasy. (1) Softness, wetness, sliminess, and hairiness, respectively, are always looked upon as dirtier than hardness, dryness, and the absence of hair. (2) Old age represents a piling up of undischarged remnants of a lifetime of eating and drinking, and is dirtier than youth.³ So that growing old means to grow dirty; and infants, although in the unconscious they may be made from fæces, are nevertheless and paradoxically cleaner than age. (3) Furthermore, pigmentation obviously means dirt, and dark hair is dirtier than the blond hair which 'gentlemen prefer'. And (4) finally in general a prominent or out-jutting part of the body carries a presumption of cleanliness, whereas a cavity, or cleft, or hole, or pit in the body carries the presumption of dirt.

³ This recalls Metchnikoff's once famous theory that senility and death come as the result of microbic action on the contents of the lower bowel (16)—a theory which received indirect scientific investigation in the experiments of Woodruff on the *amœba* (cf. Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, 6e) and pseudo-medical exploitation in theories of intestinal auto-intoxication with their attendant rituals of colonic irrigations and the like. In the lay mind it is reflected in that type of intestinal preoccupation which Osler used to refer to as cases of 'bowels on the brain'.

It will be seen how these various assumptions fit into the hierarchies which we have mentioned, why the smooth parts of the body are 'cleaner' than the wrinkled parts (the penis, for instance, than the scrotum), why those parts of the body which are remote from apertures are 'cleaner' than those which surround the apertures, and why thinness is presumptively clean and fatness presumably dirty, and why in the mythical physiology of the laity fat people are supposed to have larger bowel movements than thin folk.

The most important single consequence of this hierarchy of fantasies is an unconscious but universal conviction that woman is dirtier than man. This belief is diametrically opposed to the conscious popular attitude, i.e., that men are dirty and women clean. Often enough, however, this customary attitude is quite insincere; and those who defend it most chivalrously are often the very ones who shrink with revulsion from direct physical contact with any but 'low' women. In reality the reactions of men and women to the body of woman are dominated by this retreat from 'dirt'-laden clefts and apertures. We have found this to be true in women as well as men, including those women who are blocked in their heterosexual adjustments and who explain this block as being due to a conscious feeling that in intercourse they are soiled by the man. In this feeling, the idea of semen as dirt is used to obscure the deep personal pain which it costs the woman to regard her own genital aperture as even dirtier.

The Taboo on the Apertures

In all of this there is implicit the most all-inclusive taboo which we meet in the attitude of adult human beings to the body, namely the taboo on the apertures. By every means, and by varying degrees at different times and in different civilizations, the apertures have been camouflaged. They have been either hidden or altered; and through displacements and substitutions every aperture has at one time or another been subjected to rituals of this sort. The simplest of these, of course, are the fashions in which the aperture is directly

obscured. A woman's hair at one epoch must cover her ears; or in certain Eastern countries her nose and mouth must be hidden behind a veil which she would no more think of lifting than of raising her skirt. A man must wear a moustache and a beard. A polite little boy may at most wriggle an itching ear, but he must not put his fingers in it, nor into his nose or mouth. Nor may any unnecessary noise or smell emanate from an aperture to draw attention to it. It follows inevitably that even soft toothpicks are taboo; and if something is lodged in a crevice between the teeth it must either be dislodged in private or else with surreptitious and genteel manipulations of the tongue. Among many primitive peoples such as the Trobrianders, people turn their backs to one another when they eat; and among East Indians the woman would no more think of eating in the presence of a stranger than of performing any other intimate rite involving one of her body apertures.⁴ Indeed so drastic is this attitude in the Orient that, according to Brill (3), the Japanese at one time censored all kissing scenes in American movies, and on at least one occasion refused to allow a replica of Rodin's *The Kiss* to be exhibited in an art gallery. Nor can this be attributed to any peculiar intensity of body smells among the Japanese, since, according to Havelock Ellis (4), they are among the least aromatic of all human races—far less, for instance, than the white races.

Compulsive Cosmetic Compensations in Woman

That this taboo on the apertures has an intimate relationship to cosmetic rituals must also be quite obvious. It is evident in the compulsive whitening of the nose by the civilized woman, and in the rouging of her lips, or in the gross distortions of the ear lobes, the nose, or the lips in savages.

Either one must obscure the apertures and make them decorous and self-effacing, or where this cannot be done they must be altered, decorated. And since woman has the one aperture whose presence makes the most urgent pro-

⁴ Dr. A. Kardiner points out that this ceremonial restriction may have other important and coincident determinants. (Personal communication.)

test against the taboo, by simple displacement upward her cosmetic rituals become the most compelling and elaborate. Perhaps on the deepest level these may also be a substitute for the genital and excretory cleanliness rites of infancy, for the soaping, patting, powdering and handling that were then enjoyed; but in contradistinction to man, the woman seems to need them in order to free herself from an obsessive conviction that she has one aperture too many, and that a dirty one. In the same way, it is the woman who must never sweat; and who, no matter how severe her cold, must use only a tiny lace handkerchief to prove that there is no dirt inside of her. And it is the woman who must use perfume.

One patient of mine revealed the inner meaning of all of this when, on dropping her compact into the toilet, she roared with uncontrollable laughter, and said, 'That's the part of me I'm ashamed of, and not my face—that's what I want to change'. Equally clear was the same point as expressed by another patient in her conviction that an ugly mouth always means an ugly genital; or in still another whose exaggerated reaction to a mole on the side of her cheek was traced to her identification of it with a mole on her labia. This, of course, is only an exceptionally transparent example of a well-known fact, namely, that the hands and the head, as the only parts of the body which can always be freely exposed, come to represent all of the hidden parts; and that more particularly the apertures in the head represent the apertures at the other end of the trunk.

Another clear example of this was seen in the behavior of a little girl of five. This little girl had been separated from her father and from her older brother for a few months, and envied this brother deeply. One day she lay on her back with her legs in the air, her genitals exposed; and as she contemplated them she said, 'My father won't marry me because I have an ugly—(here there was a strange break and pause in her speech)—face'.

That the conviction that she has one 'dirty' aperture too many is an important source of woman's incessant discontent with her own body would seem to be likely. It has manifested

itself in endless efforts to alter her shape, with the emphasis constantly shifting from one part of the body to another. The feet are squeezed, the neck is stretched, the waist is confined, the breasts are now crushed flat and again are raised and built up, the hips are 'slenderized' or built out with a bustle. These polymorphous compulsions have as their constant underlying theme the fact that the body is not accepted as being right as it is and that ultimately all of the manipulations focus themselves around one or another aperture—the mouth, the nose, the ears, the breasts, the genitals and the excretory system, culminating finally in old age in the pathetic struggle against the dignity of wrinkles.

In this derogatory attitude of woman towards her own body one finds every gradation from the devastating delusion of a deep depression that contamination, poison, and overwhelming odors emanate from her body, to the mild distress of the young actress who felt completely comfortable on the stage only when she was seated or else hidden from the waist down behind some piece of furniture.

To avoid misunderstanding it is well to introduce here one necessary warning. The conscious and unconscious motivations of human conduct are always complex. It would be absurd to attempt to find in this one fantasy of the body as a dirt factory the whole explanation of woman's derogatory attitude to her own body. That this attitude is related also to her feelings of castration and mutilation is attested abundantly in everyday analytical experience, and in such cases as those reported by Hárnik (7a, 7b). Therefore a sufficient explanation of the manifold eccentricities of dress in both sexes through the ages must be derived from many sources. The fantasy of dirt and the related taboo on the apertures constitute only one force out of the many which have been operative here (cf. Lewin, 13).

The Forbidden Interest in Excretory Functions

The taboo on the apertures works in another obvious and important direction—to forbid the child the right to watch excretory functions. As a result, a child may stand and watch

a machine at work to his heart's content, but never the body. He may not crouch down to watch even a dog urinating or defæcating without being made to feel as 'dirty' as the thing he wants to observe. Thus human beings are compelled to suppress (and may therefore repress) all of that frank interest which two dogs will manifest in each other's apertures; an interest which may then appear in fantasies or dreams as disguised manifestations of an impulse actually to be in the toilet bowl watching the emergence of the mysterious excretory products of the parents. This is as much a primal scene as is the observation of coitus, and like it, it is infused with excitement and with intense fear of detection and of punishment, and with the direct dread of injury and destruction either by the parents themselves or through their destructive body products.

This group of fantasies was presented with unusual clarity in the dreams of two patients. In one the dream was of 'riding the rods' under a train in such a way that the dreamer was enabled to look up through the opened aperture below the toilet into the car above him. The other was the dream of a most proper young lady that she was in the bathroom in the home of her four maiden aunts, and that in the bathroom was a bath-tub which, by some curious alchemy, was not only a cleansing tub but also a toilet bowl, filled with fluid which she or someone else had put there; and in that fluid she bathed, but whether she was getting clean or dirty she did not know. And floating in that fluid was paper, which was equally perplexing because at one and the same time it was pages from the Bible and sheets of toilet paper. (The delightfully witty and ironic reference to the analysis needs no comment.) There is an obscene little nursery jingle about a happy baby named 'Sunny Jim', who is in the toilet bowl and finds he can neither swim nor float and who swallows fæces. It brings out clearly the lurking curiosity about the excretory functions of parents, the accompanying sense of danger, the link to fears of drowning, the coprophagic fantasies, and the related feelings of shame, disgust and retribution.

The Relation to Unreality Feelings in Women

With surprising frequency one finds that a woman's fantasies of dirt lead her in yet another direction, namely, to make an identification with her own state of 'dirtiness' so profound that if she loses even momentarily her feeling of being dirty, she develops sudden feelings of unreality. It has been possible to observe this in several women against a background of quite varied clinical pictures; and in men I have detected this only in one who had strong latent homosexual tendencies. His formulation was 'All women and I are dirty'. The converse of that is expressed in a quotation from a male patient described by Abraham (1), who said, 'Everything that is not me is dirt'. This patient, however, was a man with megalomaniac tendencies. Certainly all clinical psychiatrists have been impressed by the greater frequency of unreality feelings in women than in men. The mechanism suggested here may be one partial explanation of this difference.

One of the most surprising things which has turned up during the course of these observations on the fantasy of dirt is the occurrence of unreality feelings as the outcome of an analytic reduction of a conviction of personal dirtiness. Shame may exercise so strong an inhibiting influence that it may be difficult to break through the reserves of a patient in this direction even after she has achieved fluent analytic productivity in other matters; but once she becomes free to talk, such a patient reveals feelings that she can *never* get clean. She contaminates a bath faster than a bath can clean her, like Tolstoi's fable of the woman who was trying to clean a table with a dirty rag. Her predicament sheds new light on the 'damned spot' and the 'perfumes of Arabia' of Lady Macbeth. If she dons clean underclothes she feels 'queer', 'as though she were a fake', and 'unreal'. A most attractive young college student said that no matter how clean were her underdrawers when she put them on in the morning, by lunchtime she felt as though they were filthy; yet she could not change them, because if she bathed and dressed again, she would still feel as though it were 'all put on'. The outside might appear

neat, but the inside never was. She struggled, as she put it, between a constant compulsion to prove her cleanliness and simultaneously an actual fear that if she did she would lose her identity. Another said that for her there was no existence apart from her sense of dirt. She said, 'A woman is real, like excrement; a man is real, like a penis'. When her fiancé was making love to her, she had no feeling of his reality until she touched a pimple on his neck; only then did she feel certain in fact that he had a penis. Another said of herself, 'All social presence, clothes and politeness, kindness to others, that is all unreal—a mere imitation'. She identified herself completely with the contents of her own body. 'I am my own body, and the only reality of that is its products, my bowels and my urine.' At times this was associated with an explosive, expulsive protest, to let nothing remain but the faeces, underlying which there was a deep unconscious fantasy of world destruction. But at the same time she was caught in a difficult therapeutic impasse. She could not tolerate her sense of dirtiness because it shamed her, made her afraid of people, made her asocial, and in every way cost her all confidence and joy in living. On the other hand, she could not let herself feel clean because that meant an explosion of terrifying feelings of unreality. It was as though she said, 'In the absence of a penis, the dirt within is the only reality that is left to me. If I lose that, nothing real remains.'

Such patients may at times make impulsive identifications of themselves with every unfortunate cripple and ill-favored person whom they see, by linking such persons with the most unacceptable aspects of their own bodies and their own body products. This is a peculiarly masochistic and self-debasing form of pity.

Genitals as Excrement

Implicit in much that has been said is an attitude towards the genitals which must be referred to for a moment. This is the idea and feeling that the genitals, although in reality they are parts of the body, to the unconscious are detachable excre-

tory products. This is a fantasy which is intimately related to the whole question of homosexuality, and will be discussed again in that connection (cf. Freud, 6a).

Sociological Significance: The Stratification of Society

In addition to the individual implications already discussed, the fantastic inflation of the concept of dirt has given rise to certain significant sociological phenomena. Perhaps to say that it has given rise to them is to claim too much; but it would be safe to emphasize that at the least it has played no small part in their development. We refer here to the phenomena of the stratification of society. Everyone knows, of course, that any representative of a strange group is likely to be spoken of as 'a dirty this' or 'a dirty that'. In India this is given so literal an expression as to create a class of 'untouchables'. It is as though man struggled to rid himself of his feeling of his own secret inner uncleanness by finding another and dirtier human being whom he could scorn. Brill (3) speaks of body odors as dividing man from man, and attributes this to the fact that body odors remind each man unwittingly of the other's undue proximity, adding that an obtrusive smell lowers one's estimates of its human source. This is undoubtedly a true observation, but does not quite explain it, and it would seem probable that it is the immediate unconscious assumption that the body smell arises internally which gives it its great emotional significance. Brill senses this when he quotes from Somerset Maugham's (15) comments on Chinese democracy. Maugham claims that the democracy of the Chinese is based on the uniformity of the toilet habits of rich and poor in that country, and on the ubiquity of bad smells. He says, 'The cess pool is more necessary to democracy than parliamentary institutions. . . . Sanitary convenience has destroyed the sense of equality in men. . . . The first man who pulled the plug of a water closet . . . rang the bell of democracy.' We need not accept too extreme a formulation of this position in order to recognize its sociological importance. Further outstanding examples of this are the segregation of women in Oriental

racess, the old custom of segregating a woman during menstruation, and in general the concentration of the contamination idea on any one special group of human beings, such as negroes, Jews, or 'dirty foreigners' in general.

It is regrettable that no psychoanalytic data are available at present on the American negro in his white environment. Such data should throw light on the relation of skin pigmentation to this problem. It is easy to see, however, how much of the white man's prejudice against the pigmented races comes from his feelings about excrement and the pigmentation which with advancing years develops around the apertures. The white child, with little or no perineal pigmentation, has little feeling against the negro, until he is stimulated to it by the adults. His naïve nursery explanations of the color of the negro skin are quite devoid of derogatory implications. One child for instance was heard to warn her old mammy not to drink black coffee because, as the mammy could see for herself, it made her skin black. Yet even in this innocent warning lurked an implication which later became derogatory, since the pigment from the coffee must reach the skin from the dark and mysterious insides of the body. Similarly a young brunette white woman, facing an appendectomy, could not rid herself of the notion that it would make her blond. 'Cut out my intestines and I will lose my dark skin, I will lose my dirtiness.' There is a hint in the old story of creation from Uncle Remus that the negro himself is weighed down with the feeling that pigmentation means dirt. In this legend the entire human race is black until a lake is discovered which can bleach the skin, whereupon there is such a rush of human kind to bathe in this lake that it is completely filled up, and the negro race of today represents those who were left on the banks and who could do no more than dabble the soles of their feet and the palms of their hands in the bleaching waters.⁵

⁵ This self-derogatory negro myth is to be compared with the proud legend of the American Indians, in which the Great Spirit at the Creation is baking the form of man in an oven, but falls asleep over the first batch and scorches them black, becomes over-anxious about the second batch and turns them out under-done and white, but ends with the final batch cooked to the perfect red-brown of the Indians.

There is an even more ominous outgrowth from the same fantasy, one that plays a part in the institution of lynching in our Southern states. It arises from the fantasy that the inferior is always stronger than the superior, that that which is dirty, and therefore dark, is stronger than that which is clean and therefore light. It follows that the pigmented penis is stronger than the white penis, and a negro must be sexually stronger than a white man. Southern manhood attacks the negro not merely to protect 'Southern womanhood', but out of jealous rage against the man whose darker, bigger strength is envied. That this relates itself at once to the problem of the child in relationship to his father is obvious.⁶

Family Pride and Shame

When we turn to the family, we find a related situation. No one has pictured this more vividly than Ernest Hemingway in his story, *Fathers and Sons*, from the book of short stories, *Winner Take Nothing* (8), where he describes a son's reactions to the smells of a father's underwear. It is sometimes overlooked that opportunities for intimate contacts with the excretory functions of others are limited almost to the family circle and to the earliest years of a child's life, with the result that the child develops the unconscious conviction 'my family alone is dirty'. Out of that conviction grows a painful struggle to climb a ladder which outwardly may take the form of a ladder of social stratification, according to wealth, position, culture, or intellect, but which may have at its core an unconscious division of human beings into those with dirty, smelly bodies, like the child's own family, and those whose bodies never produce such smells. It takes a philosopher like Aristotle to accept with equanimity the generalization that 'all life arises out of dunghills'. The child can think only of himself and of his own family in these debased terms, and struggles against this conviction with great pain.

Before pursuing further the widely diversified implications of this central fantasy, we must turn back to ask how such a

⁶ Cf. John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937, pp. 160-161.

fantasy could have arisen, how early it has manifested itself in human society, and why it persists. It will not be possible to answer these questions fully, but the discussion of them will bring us into contact with many aspects of psychoanalytic theory.

Critical Review of the Treatment of the Concept of Dirt in Psychoanalytic Literature

Strangely enough in Freud's own writings there are not many direct references to this problem. In 1905, in the *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria (6a)*, he speaks of the feeling of disgust as arising originally as a reaction to the smell and later to the sight of excrement, and adds further that *the genitals act as a reminder of excremental functions* (p. 40). On the following page, in footnote 1, he adds, 'It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the pathogenic significance of the comprehensive tie uniting the sexual and the excremental, a tie which is at the basis of a very large number of hysterical phobias.' In the same year, in the *Three Contributions (6b)*, he comments upon the fact that although beauty plays such an important rôle in sexuality, the genitals themselves are condemned as unbeautiful. He does not say 'unclean', but the link to excrement which he describes elsewhere indicates that this must have been part at least of what he had in mind.

It is clear from these quotations that up to this time Freud had not asked himself the question, how excrements themselves had come to be looked upon as disgusting and dirty, but had taken this characteristic as being of a self-evident nature.

On page 101, again, he speaks of the 'pride' taken by women in the appearance of their genitals, and of the special feelings of repugnance or disgust, of humiliation and of lowered self-esteem, which arise over any disorder of the genitals or at the appearance of any abnormal secretion. Here obviously he is close to realizing the identity of genitals and excretory products in the unconscious; but the 'pride' which he speaks of would seem to be more theoretical than actual.

In 1908, in the paper on *Character and Anal Erotism (6c)*,

he speaks of cleanliness as a reaction formation against interest in things that are 'unclean', but goes no further in his analysis of what is meant by 'uncleanliness' than his comment, 'Dirt is matter in the wrong place'. Again, however, he hints at the significance of excretory functions in his references to gold and fæces.

Then in 1909, in the Notes Upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis (6d), on page 382, Freud ventured on a discussion of a new angle of the problem, a discussion which has been referred to many times in all subsequent literature. He emphasized here the importance of the assumption of the erect posture, pointing out that as a result there might be a diminished importance for olfactory sensations, a kind of emotional atrophy from disuse. It is not clear, however, that any of these speculations about the influence of the assumption of the erect posture on man's attitude towards excrements and towards smells in general are borne out by observations either of primitive races or of the primates and the higher apes. In fact, Havelock Ellis (4) presents much evidence that many human races have preserved great olfactory acuity despite the erect posture. It will be of great interest some day to investigate the emotional aspects of the olfactory functions and the systems of dirt fantasies among such peoples.

Furthermore, even on theoretical grounds Freud's argument is not entirely beyond question. It would seem reasonable to begin with the premise that the chemical sense of fishes and the sense of smell in quadrupeds is used very much as we use sight and sound,—that is, to look for things, to find things, to recognize them, and possibly to differentiate between edible and inedible objects. With a shift to the erect posture, the nose seems to have lost some, if not all, of these purely apperceptive functions, and to have become instead primarily an organ of æsthetic judgments. Thus, far more than with sight, sound, or touch, for the animal in the erect posture, smells are almost never neutral but always either pleasant or unpleasant.⁷

⁷ In this connection it should be borne in mind that there is a particularly close anatomical link between the olfactory gyri and the vegetative centers of the fornix system and of the hypothalamus. In turn this has been looked upon

Furthermore, it is no accident that the nose is set above the mouth as a guardian of the gastro-intestinal tract. In the quadruped, the snout is usually long, and subserves not only an olfactory purpose but also that of a tactile organ like the index finger. With the assumption of the erect posture the snout has gradually receded so that now the nose functions only when things are brought to it either in eating or in the close approximation of bodies in sexual activity.

Thus it would seem possible to build a plausible case for the argument that man's assumption of the erect posture has resulted in an *increase in the pleasure-displeasure* evaluations of olfactory stimuli, and a *decrease in their purely intellectual values*. Smell, therefore, may play a *more important rôle emotionally* in the sexual life of man than it does in that of the lower animals, even though in lower forms it may play the more important rôle as an orienting lure. Furthermore, and this is the important part of the problem for us, its rôle in man is emotionally not only *more important*, but also *more complicated*, since the negative as well as the positive æsthetic reactions have been enhanced.⁸

Finally, in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (6f), Freud returns to this problem again. He points out (p. 67) that in the nursery, excrements arouse no aversion, and that this reversal

tentatively (Tilney) as a central reception station for afferent impulses from the viscera. Furthermore, there are recurrent fragments of clinical evidence that there is a special reflex relationship between certain nerve-endings in the nasal mucosæ (the so-called 'genital spots') and reproductive functions.

⁸ In this connection Freud comments on the fact that the odor of menstruation has great potency as a lure for animals when the female is in heat, whereas this same odor is in general looked upon with repugnance by human beings. For this change the author ventures to suggest a rather simple hypothetical explanation:

Among the lower animals if a male mounts another male, the 'under-dog' fights. Similarly, if a male mounts an unexcited female, she usually fights. It is only when a male mounts a female who is in heat that she submits without protest or combat. Therefore to the male the menstrual smell becomes a signal for genital pleasure devoid of danger. If women fought men openly during any effort at intercourse except when the woman was menstruating, it would seem likely that the human male would quickly lose any feelings of repugnance towards menstrual odors and would replace these with feelings of eager pleasure, equal to those manifested by quadrupeds.

is produced only by vigorous educational efforts, which he holds could not be successful if it were not for the repression of olfactory functions in the course of the evolution of the erect posture. With this last point, as we have already pointed out, we cannot agree. Freud points out, however, that cleanliness is a measure of the degree of civilization, whereas nature itself has something which can perhaps be called order but nothing which can be called cleanliness. Cleanliness is a product of man's imagination (p. 55). And he emphasizes also the derivation of our sense of beauty from 'the realms of sexual sensation' and yet faces us with the perplexing problem of why the genitals can be exciting, and yet rarely regarded as beautiful. In this connection, as we have already mentioned, he suggests the significance of their excremental meaning.

Ferenczi's contributions to this problem are too well-known to need detailed summaries. They are presented most fully in his paper on *The Ontogenesis of the Interest in Money* (5). Here he points to the early pleasurable interest in all evacuating processes and products, the reversal of this through education, and its later evolution through various stages. It is of some importance historically that under the influence of Freud's paper Ferenczi also postulates an early focusing of disgust reactions on smell alone, and stresses the importance of the assumption of the erect posture. The direct observation of children would seem to show that the rejection of *smells* as unpleasant comes long after the child has shown many troubled reactions to wetness, coldness, stickiness, and color, and that each child oscillates for a long period between positive and negative reactions to each one of the individual physical characteristics that later are grouped together into the constellation of dirt.

Abraham, in his *Contributions to the Theory of the Anal Character* (1), reiterates this derivation of disgust from the negative reversal of an earlier positive pleasure in the things produced by the body.

Jones, however, carries the analysis much further in his article on *Anal Erotic Character Traits* (10a), but in directions

which again awaken some doubt in our minds. He bases his point of view squarely on that expressed by Freud in the Three Contributions (6b, p. 47 et seq.) and assumes: (1) That the mucous membrane of the anus responds to the passage of bowel movements by pleasurable sensations whose intensity varies with the size of the bowel movement; and (2) that infants early observe that by holding back their fæces, and thus accumulating larger quantities of fæcal matter, they can produce more intense sensations, and so heighten their anal pleasures. This is our first point of dissent. To assume that an infant is capable of foregoing deliberately a definite immediate anal pleasure in order to secure a somewhat more intense sensation a few hours later, is to assume something that it is impossible to prove and hard to credit. Jones then assumes (3) that this pleasurable aspect of defæcation is subjected to an early autogenous repression. This is our second difficulty. Why this repression should occur at all is not clear. Why an infant should not proceed to enjoy his pleasurable defæcations, reënforced by praise from his parents or nurse, is completely obscure. And finally it is equally unclear why this hypothetical construction does not take into account (a) the *unpleasurable* aspects of a distended rectum, and (b) the painful aspects of a defæcation too long delayed, a pain which may indeed be combined with a subsequent sense of relief because the discomfort of the distended rectum has been dispelled but hardly with any feeling of pleasure. It must be clear that the whole argument is an *ad hoc* construction, a preconceived theory to explain certain perverse manifestations, and not built up empirically.

Rickman (18) presents another solution to this question. He argues that repulsiveness is inherent in all objects outside of the body merely because of the unpleasantness of the change from intrauterine to extrauterine life. To this universal misanthropy, the nipple appears as the first exception, and by incorporation is identified with the ego. Pleasant things thus become a part of the ego, and unpleasant things are not so much rejected by it as just left outside. What is inside of the

ego is good, and what is outside, bad. That this ingenious logical structure has any relationship to what we actually observe would appear unlikely. One need merely note that it is exactly the reverse of the attitude towards the body itself, namely that what is inside of the body is bad (filthy) and what is outside is good (clean). Unless this hypothetical ego has nothing to do with the human body, the logical outcome of Rickman's theory is a complete paradox.

And finally we cannot leave this resumé without a reference to the complex and important structure of Melanie Klein's theories (*II*). Klein recognizes clearly the importance of this concept of the inside and the outside of the body, and of the conflict between the two. She finds evidence, however, that the contents of the body may be both good and bad in the unconscious fantasies of the child, and that indeed there is a constant struggle going on within the child between these two forces, in that the child is trying to neutralize the bad by introjection of good forces, or by ejection of the bad.

In general, Klein's position may be summarized as follows: The child's basic relationship to its environment is sadistic. In early oral, urethral, and anal, sadistic phases, the child makes imaginary attacks on his mother, on her body and on its contents. From this the child develops a fear that an unkind mother will demand back that which has been stolen from her, namely, the body contents or the faeces. Thus, the real mother or nurse, in the cleansing of the child, becomes a terrifying person who not only compels the child to give up its contents, but may tear them out of the body by violence. At the same time, if these are not given up by the child, these introjected objects acquire savage and destructive attributes which in turn can destroy the body from within. (The child is usually warned that if he fails to move his bowels he will become sick.) Thus the child is caught in a characteristic dilemma: his body contents become poisonous, burning, explosive and destructive substances, generating terror from within if retained, terror of contact when excreted, and instruments with which to destroy others in turn. These are (p.

230) 'the deepest causes of a child's feelings of anxiety and guilt in connection with its training in cleanliness'. The reaction formation of disgust, orderliness, cleanliness, arises then secondarily out of these earlier danger situations, and, according to Klein, the protection against these dangerous objects by the introjection of a neutralizing array of good objects or by the extrusion of the bad objects, in a setting of great uncertainty and doubt, gives rise to the obsessional character and the obsessional neurosis, that is, to the obsessive need for knowledge, to the emphasis on reality, to over-precision, orderliness, and the like.⁹

Redescription of the Development of Excretory Habits and Attitudes

It is not possible here to go further into an analysis of Klein's theories; but let us instead turn back to the child himself to see if it is not possible to describe his excretory experiences in somewhat simpler terms *first*, without in any way prejudicing ourselves as to the need ultimately to recognize the coexistence of such highly complicated unconscious fantasies.

Let us begin by recognizing that in the infant, as in the adult, a full rectum is not comfortable but uncomfortable, and that it gives rise by automatic reflex mechanisms to peristaltic waves, and ultimately to a relaxation of the anal sphincter. *There seems to be no reason to assume that there is any primary pleasure associated with a distended rectum; indeed if such were the case it would be hard to understand how any infant would ever learn to evacuate at all!*

Nor is there any *a priori* necessity to assume that the actual passage of a moderate bowel movement through the anus originally gives rise to sensations which are either pleasant or unpleasant. On this point no direct evidence is accessible to anyone. Analysts have predicated the pleasurable nature of the passage of the bowel through the anal sphincter in the infant in order to explain disturbances of behavior and per-

⁹ In this work, Klein of course recognizes her indebtedness to Van Ophuijsen and to Stärcke.

versions, and then have supported this assumption by pointing to the later existence of anal perversion, forgetting that they have already assumed the primary nature of anal pleasure in order to explain anal perversion. This is circular reasoning, and unnecessary. The simplest primary pleasure must be merely the relief from the preceding discomfort of the distended rectum. Whether this, by an inevitable process of simple conditioning, gives rise to a *secondary* sensory pleasure from the passage of the fæces through the anus, is a matter about which there exists no direct evidence, and which may vary from one individual to the next.

The third phase is that in which the child lies with a soiled and wet diaper, at first in a state of considerable comfort and peace from the relief of the rectal or bladder discomfort that had preceded it. Furthermore, we can assume with probable safety that while the urine and fæces are still warm there is nothing unpleasant associated with their presence against the perineum, unless perchance the perineum is already irritated and inflamed. As the excreta become cold, they may give rise to discomfort; but every parent has often seen infants lying perfectly happily in cold, wet, and soiled diapers. Whether or not the child is uncomfortable, the soiled diaper becomes the signal for an important pleasure of an entirely novel nature: to wit, the cleansing ritual at the hands of the mother or nurse. This brings about a confluence of active excretory pleasure and passive genital pleasure. Here both the peace that follows urination and defæcation, and also the comfort or discomfort of the diaper (whichever it may be) become conditioning signals for loving perineal and genital stimulation at the hands of the nursing attendant. The process of conditioning is simple and obvious. The longer the diaper regime is maintained, the more firmly will that conditioned reflex be established. Thus the genitals and the excreta *together* become a link between the child and its mother or nurse, second in importance only to that of nursing, and thus become intimately fused in the child's own psychology. *Therefore, when the child is taught to disown excrements as filth, it is*

*simultaneously being taught to disown its own genitals as equally filthy excremental products of its own body. To the child its genitals are just as much excrement as are the excreta themselves.*¹⁰

The Significance of the Change from the Diaper to the Pot

Thus for the child who is allowed for a long period the luxury of the diaper, excretion comes to mean two pleasures: first the active comfort of the act itself, and then the passive comfort of the cleansing rituals spread over the genitals. The shift to the chamber pot therefore involves his first loss of genital pleasure and deprives him of what has become one of the chief motives of his excretions. That the child may react to this deprivation by sullen refusal, retention, and wilful soiling, in his efforts to return to the earlier happy state, would seem inevitable, without our having to explain the retention of excreta by hypothetical gradations of anal stimuli and the like.

When this deprivation occurs, the excretory processes and the genitals as well, suddenly cease to be a loving link between the child and the adult, and instead become a battleground on which hate makes its appearance. From here on the story is well known of the investment of the excretory products and the genitals with ambivalent feelings: refuse or powerful magic; love tokens or destructive agents, etc. There comes to mind the picture of a little boy solemnly seating himself on the chamber every Sunday morning with a wand from his toy magic game in his mouth, 'doing his duty' at one end, but at the other end making magic for a snow-storm so that he would not have to go to church.

Thus we see that the first application of pressure in the education towards 'cleanliness' consists inevitably and unavoidably of a genital punishment, that is, of a withholding of pleasurable genital stimulation. From the point of view of

¹⁰ In adults this state of mind is directly reflected in those women who in coitus are anæsthetic in their external genitals and in the vagina, and who perform their excretory duties with a rigid and almost trance-like inattention.

practical education the importance of this may certainly be reduced by shortening to a minimum the diaper period; but probably it can never be wholly eliminated. Even an infant who has been gently but firmly potted right from birth will have occasional bowel and urinary accidents to signal to him the subsequent pleasurable attentions to his perineum—just as the conditioned stimulus signals the coming of meat to the experimental animal. It may be borne in mind, however, that there is one significant and consoling difference between these two situations. Pavlov has shown that conditioned reflexes can be established only when an animal is in a state of unsatisfied instinctual craving, and never when satiated. The infant who has just voided and evacuated is in a state of much diminished instinctual tension in which conditioning influences must operate only weakly and slowly. For this reason, shortening the diaper period is probably all that is needed to reduce the genitalization of the excretory functions to relatively insignificant proportions.

Melanie Klein, as we have already indicated, emphasizes other aspects of this problem. She has found evidence that the nurse or mother who cleanses the infant may represent to that child a terrifying and fantastic figure who is tearing out its body contents. She explains this fantasy as due to the child's fear of revenge because of its own primary sadistic impulses against its mother's body contents. I have no evidence either for or against this explanation, but on the basis of what has been described above a simpler one is also possible, namely, that the child may develop an uneasy sense that the mother or nurse is angry as an inevitable projection of its own anger when the cleansing perineal gratifications to which he had become accustomed are withheld. In addition it remains possible that children may elaborate this primary anger and fear into a structure of secondary unconscious fantasies such as Klein describes. If this is true, the fantasies outlined by Klein may be the result rather than the cause of the initial emotional disturbance, and their cathexes can be lessened merely by a shortening of the diaper period, or as Brill (3) jokingly suggests,

by the use of easily detachable perineal sandbags such as those of the placid Chinese.

The Significance of the Warning against Excrement for the Evolution of the Dirt Fantasy

The second step in the education towards 'cleanliness' is not merely a silent deprivation, but an active and forceful system of warnings, threats, punishments and exhortations, under the influence of which the infant and child is taught to eschew that which adults regard as dirty. As a result of this education, the child builds his first system of graded æsthetic values: There are (a) things which may be played with freely, smelled, and placed in the mouth (yet with perplexing absence of any logic which he can comprehend the child is taught not to 'play with' or 'handle' his food); (b) things which may be sniffed at perhaps and played with, but not put in the mouth; (c) things which may be touched, but not played with; (d) things which may be looked at, but not touched; and (e) finally things which should not even be looked at.

When we consider that the child's basic pattern is to look, to reach for, to touch, to smell, and to take into his mouth, it is evident that this system of contrary feelings can be inculcated only at the price of inner conflicts quite comparable in intensity with those generated by the œdipus drama, the sibling rivalries, and the castration problem.

Thus the first effective distinction between clean and dirty comes via the parental injunctions, 'Don't touch', 'Don't put into the mouth', and ultimately, in example if not in precept, 'Don't look'. Therefore, that which is dirty will make one sick, and sickness and dirt become synonymous. Furthermore it must finally become dangerous even to look. (Witness the universality of blinking tics in childhood.)

From this step to the conclusion that all excretions are dirty, that the excretory zones and apertures as well must not be touched, that therefore pleasure from these zones is itself dirty and bad, that if you touch yourself (that is, masturbate), you touch dirt and actually become dirty and therefore fall sick, is a well known chain of consequent ideas.

And finally, since the thought is the same as the deed, and the desire to masturbate is also dirty, the desire alone can make you sick. Hence guilt, disease, dirt, masturbation, contamination, intercourse, pregnancy, and cancer become intimately linked concepts. The most extraordinary part of this whole structure is that just as with the taboo on masturbation itself, the fantasy is built up again and again through each succeeding generation, with no personal experience of pain or sickness or of other direct and immediate consequences for the violation of the code.

Dirt Fantasies vs. Mutilation Fantasies in the Development of Obsessional Traits

This is what makes the basic psychological difference between the rôle of *dirt fantasies* and the rôle of *mutilation fantasies* in human psychology. No one has to teach a child to recognize pain: pain is its own schoolmaster, furnishing its own definition. No one need write papers to explain what we mean by pain. The rôle of the adult is the relatively simple one of expanding the child's own experience, warning him of possible sources of pain, *allying himself with* the child's own instinctual avoidance of intolerable tensions. With regard to dirt, on the other hand, the adult's rôle is the ungrateful one of *opposing* the child's natural impulses at every point by a combination of bribery, intimidation, and a system of authoritative pronouncements that, as has been suggested elsewhere, are in their essence identical with posthypnotic suggestions. (Brickner and Kubie, 2.) Undoubtedly this accounts in no small part for the fact that a 'must'-system plays so large a rôle in the obsessional neurosis, in contradistinction to the dominating significance of the fear-system in hysteria and anxiety hysteria.

The artificial intimidation is achieved partly by inculcating a deep unconscious fear of disease, thereby setting the pattern for many phobic and hypochondriacal reactions both in childhood and in later life. As Klein points out, to the child the body products come to mean malevolent instruments of destruc-

tion—burning, poisoning, corroding, exploding, etc. This creates for him many dilemmas: how does it happen that these destructive substances can be formed within the body without destroying their possessor from within? Is it better constantly to be getting rid of them or to pretend that there are no such things and to retain them forever? One is reminded of Elinor Wylie's poem, likening young girls to transparent drops of dew, thus solving the problem neatly by making the human frame translucent, devoid of the hidden dirt and danger which is inherent in opaque internal organs. In the course of his analysis a young man of thirty, who had come into analysis because of a phobia of bedwetting, rediscovered his early terror that in his sleep he would void and defæcate and that the products thereupon would actually eat away his body, so that in the morning when 'they' came to waken him, he would be gone.

This fear that the products of the body are destructive and dangerous is related in turn to the fantasy which Malcove (14) describes in young children, that all food is alive and by 'eating back at' its devourer is capable of retaliating against the child who eats it. Furthermore both of these fears (the fear of the food and the fear of the waste products) come into conflict with all fantasies of the reincorporation of lost objects of libidinal attachment, whether the reincorporation takes place directly in oral fantasies and practices, or through some substituted skin ritual of smearing, dressing, and the like, as described by Lewin (13).

In all of this one glimpses a tangled web of conflicting impulses and feelings: Food and waste are prized, feared, rejected, retained; they are magically potent, they are disgraceful and shameful, etc. Out of this web emerge many of the incongruous inconsistencies of behavior towards dirt to which the history of human affairs bears witness.

Medical lore and practice is particularly full of these contradictory influences. As Osler points out (17), the use of excretions or of parts of the body as medicine was a practice of great antiquity, first recorded in the papyri of Egypt. There we

find that saliva, urine, bile, fæces, parts of the body dried and powdered, worms, insects, snakes, and powdered mummies all had their potent values. Furthermore the art of divination was practiced largely on the internal organs of sacrificial animals, notably the heart, brain, and especially the liver, which in turn was eaten for its curative value, long before anything was known either of liver oils or of pernicious anæmia. Similarly certain tribes of American Indians used urine both as a medicine and as a charm against disease. Jones (*Job*, pp. 290-309) refers to the magical and curative properties ascribed to the urine and saliva of horses, to a horse's hair laid in manure, a towel streaked with human fæces, etc.

Certainly much that is obsessional in human nature is thus seen to have its origin in the *fantasy of dirt*. At the price of constant vigilance, the products of the dirty interior of the body and their representatives in the outside world must never be allowed to contaminate the outside of the body except as a magical and therapeutic rite. We see this in the obsession of the child who spends hours folding his underwear so that no part of the undershirt shall peep out from under the blouse, no part of the blouse from under the coat, and so on, as he lays them on the chair beside his bed. Or it is clear in the convention that one must have different face and body towels. With only a slight pathological exaggeration it becomes imperative that these must never touch. Or one could observe it in the play of the brothers who were happy together until one touched his nose, his tongue, or his buttocks to the pillow of the other, whereupon war would break out. Again an obsessional accountant who had to feel the soles of his shoes to see if anything uneven adhered to either of them, or to compare the bulges in his pockets where he carried his pencils, and who had also to repeat his accurate calculations incessantly, revealed behind these diverse forms this one unifying underlying compulsion. That it is all inclusive, is doubtful; but that it is much more significant and widespread than has been recognized, seems probable. One might say that just as anxiety hysteria is oriented essentially about the problem of mutilation

and pain, so the obsessional neurosis or the obsessional character is oriented about the problem of contamination and dirt, and particularly in this form of precautions against contamination of the outside from the inside.

On page 73 of *The Problem of Anxiety* (6g), Freud writes: 'To the question why the avoidance of touching, contact or contagion plays so large a rôle in the neuroses and is made the content of so complicated a system, the answer is that touching, physical contact, is the most immediate aim of aggressive no less than of tender object-cathexes.' This has become the usual psychoanalytic explanation of this phenomenon, a monistic emphasis on aggression and destruction, overlooking what appears to be a parallel struggle which is focused primarily around the individual's conception of his own body and its products in terms of fantasies of cleanliness and dirtiness, and which involves only secondarily his aggressive impulses.

Anthropological Theory

Much has been written of the individual's initial interest in excrement, and of his early uninhibited coprophagic propensities. It is natural, therefore, on turning to a consideration of the race as a whole, to wonder when the eating of excrement and of the abundant life of the dunghill stopped, and what this may have had to do with the appearance of scavenger gods in Egyptian religions, or of magical rites to protect the dead from having to eat fæces, or with the placing of mummies in Egyptian graves so bent that the heads and a food container were close to the excretory organs, as though self-perpetuation in immortality was to be achieved by reingesting one's own excrement.

Such questions remain unanswered, however. Indeed, surprisingly little has been written by the anthropologists about the earliest evidence of the existence of a concept of dirt, despite the evident fact that the establishing of a distinction between clean and dirty must have been one of the crucial turning points in the evolution of civilization. This perhaps gives us some justification for using our imagination in order

to visualize a hypothetical series of stages in the evolution of the concept of dirt, under the influence of general cultural evolution. At each stage, the critical issue would be: What is eaten as food?

(1) A primitive stage, in which food included all creeping, crawling things, that abundant life of the earth which is most abundant around the dunghill, and which is not easily distinguished from excrement itself. Excrement would therefore be prized as a zoölogical manure.

(2) With the evolution of fishing and the hunt, a taboo on lowlier forms would become possible at least, and fishing and netting or spearing of swimming fish would make it possible to replace or supplement the eating of the clinging, stationary, sessile shell-fish forms. (The Kosher taboo on shell-fish may conceivably represent this ancient step in cultural development.)

(3) Finally the shift from a hunting-fishing to an agricultural culture, with stationary homes and villages instead of a nomadic life, would force the segregation of the excretory functions of the villagers. From this point on, the distinction would be firmly established on the basis which we have described, a rejection of all body products as filth.

The Psychosexual Implications of the Dirt Fantasy

It is to be expected, of course, that sexual functions would register the particular constellation of dirt fantasies with which a patient struggles, especially since sex brings with it the only sanctioned violation of the otherwise unqualified taboo on contacts between body apertures and body products. Not only is there an exchange of body products, both at the mouth and at the genital orifices, but there is in addition the actual penetration into another body, so that the outside of one body becomes directly contaminated by the inside of another. No one who has analyzed adolescent boys and girls or young adults can fail to be impressed by the violence of the conflict with these taboos which is evoked by the mere thought of intercourse. Both sexes struggle with a conviction that only those

protuberances of the body which are far from the genital excretory zones are safe and clean. Clefts, wrinkles, and cavities must be avoided, not merely because they represent to the unconscious a wound or a mutilation, but also because they are diseased and dirt-laden approaches to loathsome, disease-filled places.

On this basis one sees a type of pseudo homosexuality in woman: that is, the woman who feels contaminated as well as mutilated, who at the same time feels closely identified with a mother or nurse, and who in her love-making attains only some measure of reassurance through an alliance with another woman. On a 'misery loves company' basis, both of them tacitly avoid the 'contaminating' areas, thereby avoiding exposure of their imagined filth and misery to men.

In the male also, as part of an absolute refusal to believe in the reality of a penisless woman, there may be a conviction that woman is the cleaner and man the dirtier sex, with an inability to approach the opposite sex for this reason. Thus there can be at least two kinds of homosexuality in the male, the one due to a fear that the man is dirty and will contaminate the woman with his faecal penis and semen, and the other, the fear that the woman is dirty and will contaminate the man. Inconsistent though they may be, both unconscious fantasies may coexist side by side in the same patient.

I have a suspicion, which I am not yet in a position to verify, that castration fear plays a major rôle in disturbances in effective genital function, and contamination fears in disturbances of object choice. Both the penis and the vagina tend, however, to share in this inhibiting sense of filth; and out of this is derived a system of unconscious ideas shared by men and women alike: The vagina is dirty. Therefore it is worthy only of dirty objects. Anything which enters it either is dirty to begin with or becomes dirty on penetration. All body secretions are dirty. Both vaginal mucus and the semen of the male are dirty. Intercourse therefore consists of being filled full of dirt and of being smeared with dirt. Neither the impressive ceremonials of the wedding service nor the exhilara-

tion of deep infatuation can effectively lift the taboos which fantasies such as these represent and enforce.

Relation to Social Inhibitions

It must be obvious that these ideas relate themselves closely to the problem of social freedom and social inhibition in all human beings, and perhaps particularly in women. Many striking examples of this have been seen, of which one particularly transparent illustration may be mentioned. This was the case of a gifted and attractive woman who was so placed that a certain amount of social prominence was unavoidable, and who on every social occasion suffered from overwhelming constraint. To this many things contributed, but in the end there were two outstanding factors: first the feeling that there was something lacking externally which everyone could see or sense (her castration material); and, second, the feeling that there was something awful internally which would betray itself (her filth conviction). These gave rise to a secondary series of fantasies: (a) 'I must get rid of my fæces and urine as quickly as possible. They are dirty, filthy, dangerous and embarrassing to keep inside me.' (b) 'However, in the presence of people I must hold everything in.' (c) This generated extreme constraint and an inhibition on all bodily movements, but led at the same time to tense states of terror and rage. (d) In turn, this rage induced an infantile impulse to pour out her body contents in an angry and destructive flood in the presence of people, and indeed over people, thus disgracing them and herself, and destroying the world with her corroding body waste.

The material which laid bare this extraordinary system of impulses and fantasies came to light only very slowly, but they finally brought with them a sense of conviction and a complete freedom from the crippling constraint of forty years, leaving not even a residual trace of the old difficulties. This experience among others convinced the author of the clinical usefulness of this formulation.

Note on Technique

In conclusion something might be said about the technical application of this material. All analysts are aware of the great

reluctance with which patients talk of their daily excretory experiences. Such data usually filters into the analysis even more slowly and more timidly than does the information on genital and sexual matters. It has been customary to explain this as due to the fact that the hypothetical excretory pleasures appear earlier in the life of the individual than do the genital pleasure drives, and therefore have been subjected to deeper repression. For this reason the analyst has tended to respect these silences through long months of the analysis, and to feel that no direct attack may safely be made upon this silence and the taboos it represents until the castration fears and the basic family relationships have been analyzed, and some breaking through of the curtain of infantile amnesia achieved.

We have come to feel that this is a mistake, and that until the patient is communicating his daily ingestive and excretory experiences as freely as anything else, one is not advancing on all fronts and the analysis is still in its infancy. To achieve this requires an early and challenging attack upon the idea of the body as a dirt factory and upon every personal idiosyncrasy of daily routines, of voice, manner, speech, dress, etc., which can possibly be a manifestation of the taboo on the apertures.

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AN ATTEMPT AT AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY

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The treatment of neuroses by psychoanalysis rests, it is well known, upon a purely subjective basis. Obviously there is a great need for a sound objective foundation. This research is an attempt to investigate objectively the influence of analytic therapy on the neurodynamic state of the patient, using the Pavlov technique for conditioned reflexes.¹ It was motivated by a contradiction between the author's experience and certain current analytic theories.

To avoid confusion I shall define certain expressions which will be used constantly in the paper.

By 'higher nervous activity' Pavlov means the activity of the cortex and subcortical centers. By 'reflex' is meant a cortical response to any stimulation, irrespective of its complexity or reflex time. 'Cortical tonus' refers to the readiness of the cortex to respond. The research was carried on in the Laboratory of Developmental and Pathological Physiology headed by Professor Ivanov-Smolensky of the All-Union Institute for Experimental Medicine.

Altogether, seven patients were studied, and all of them gave essentially the same findings. For lack of space, only a summary of our results is presented, with one case described in detail as an illustration. Using Freud's technique I arrived at somewhat different theoretical conclusions to be described below.

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Grateful acknowledgment for the help rendered in the translation is made to Prof. N. Kleitman, of the Dept. of Physiology, The University of Chicago.

¹ This work was undertaken for orientation in the sphere of the particular problem raised and does not touch upon other important phases of activity of the organism: its vegetative nervous activity, endocrine functions, etc.

Experimental procedure. The technique of Professor Ivanov-Smolensky was employed. The patient was placed in a specially designed testing chamber isolated from all outside stimuli. In front of the patient was placed a device capable of flashing lights of different colors, and at his side a similar set for sound signals. The examiner was outside the chamber. The patient was observed through a special window through which he could not see the examiner. The right hand of the patient rested on a rubber balloon. The work was carried on by means of verbal 'reënforcement', that is, the patient was told to squeeze or not to squeeze the bulb, depending upon the signal given. A reflexometer recorded the strength of the pressure upon the balloon as also the magnitude of the conditioned response, while a stopwatch measured the length of the latent period.

The patient was trained to develop a conditioned reflex to sound and differentiation of tones, then a conditioned reflex to a compound light stimulus consisting of four components, following each other in a definite order. Differentiation was achieved by using the same components but with the order of the middle two colors reversed. The whole test consisted of four series of stimuli, ten to twelve combinations in each group, with the light and sound stimuli alternating. After three or four auditory or optic stimuli had been presented, there followed two or three differentiated stimuli interspersed with two or three positively reënforced combinations. After the last differentiation two positively reënforced stimuli followed and then the type of stimuli was changed. In order to avoid stereotyped settings, the order of presentation of the stimuli was varied somewhat. Thus every section of the test was divided into two parts, one with, the other without inhibitory influences. The experiment took twelve to fifteen minutes. Upon completion of the experiment the patient had his analytic hour, after which the test was repeated precisely as before, and the results of the two tests were then compared. The number of tests varied from four in the first part of our investigation to sixteen toward the end.

In order to determine the tonus of the cortex we took the following indicators into consideration: (1) the magnitude of the conditioned reflex (2) inhibitory after-effect (3) positive induction (4) degree of fluctuation in the magnitude of the conditioned reflex (5) stability of differentiation. It may be said here that the latent period gave no characteristic changes, possibly due to the imperfection in the observational technique—the use of a stop-watch instead of a graphic recording device.

The analysis of indicators. The conditioned reflex. We counted separately the average magnitudes of the conditioned reflex to the compound light stimulus and to sound, as we thought it possible that the reaction to various analyzers might have special characteristics. From the total quantity of the conditioned reflexes to a given stimulus throughout the whole test, that is, from the first and the third sections and from the second and fourth sections of the protocol, we took the arithmetic mean, which represented the average magnitude of the conditioned reflex to a given stimulus. For other indicators we did not use the same computation but we took the average of all four sections of the experiment.

Inhibitory after-effect and positive induction. Each section of the experiment was divided into two parts, one before the introduction of differentiation and one after its introduction *i.e.* four 'before' and four 'after' conditioned reflexes. The averages were calculated and the differences noted. The increase in the average conditioned responses immediately after the introduction of an inhibitory stimulus was taken as the magnitude of the positive induction; a decrease, as the size of the inhibitory after-effect for the given part of the experiment. The sum total of the inhibitory after-effect and positive induction throughout the whole experiment was divided into four—the number of sections in a test. The figure obtained was taken as the average of these indicators throughout the whole experiment.

The difference between the largest and smallest magnitude

of the conditioned reflex in each section of the protocol showed the amplitude of fluctuation of the magnitude of the conditioned reflex for the given section. The average magnitude of the results obtained through the experiment (four sections) was taken as the degree of fluctuation of the size of the conditioned reflex for the whole experiment. In order to explain the system of this computation we are introducing a portion of one of the protocols.

Table I
Protocol No. 8

No.	Stimulus	Pause	Latent period	Conditioned reflex	Reënforcement
370	Red, blue, green, yellow	—	6.8	60	+
371	same	10	6.5	55	+
372	same	15	6.8	42	+
373	same	10	6.6	45	+
93	Red, green, blue, yellow	8	—	0	—
374	Red, blue, green, yellow	8	6.6	50	+
375	same	10	6.4	52	+
94	Red, green, blue, yellow	10		0	—
376	Red, blue, green, yellow	8	6.6	47	+
377	same	10	6.6	36	+
327	Sound 1	10	1.0	52	+
327	same	15	0.6	50	+

Quantitative results in protocol # 8.

The mean of the conditioned reflexes to the light stimulus before introduction of inhibition: 50.5.

The mean of the conditioned reflexes to a light stimulus after introduction of inhibition: 46.25.

Inhibitory after-effect: 4.25.

Positive induction: absent.

The degree of fluctuation in the magnitude of the conditioned reflex: $60 - 36 = 24$.

In this manner all the data from our experiments were calculated. We computed the averages on various experimental days, showing the general influence of analytical psychotherapy

on our indicators in a given period of therapy. Figure 1 shows the results obtained in the case to be described. One can see in this section of the experiment that analytical psychotherapy caused a strengthening of the conditioned reflexes to both stimuli—an increase in positive induction, and a decrease in the inhibitory after-effect. That is, it had a tonic influence on the cortex, confirmed by subjective impressions of the patient with reference to her own condition. After the analytic hour the patient felt better, her mood had improved, her motor activities were more spontaneous and her facial expressions more vivacious. She gave the impression of having been released from an inner tension. (Exceptions will be described later.)

Table II

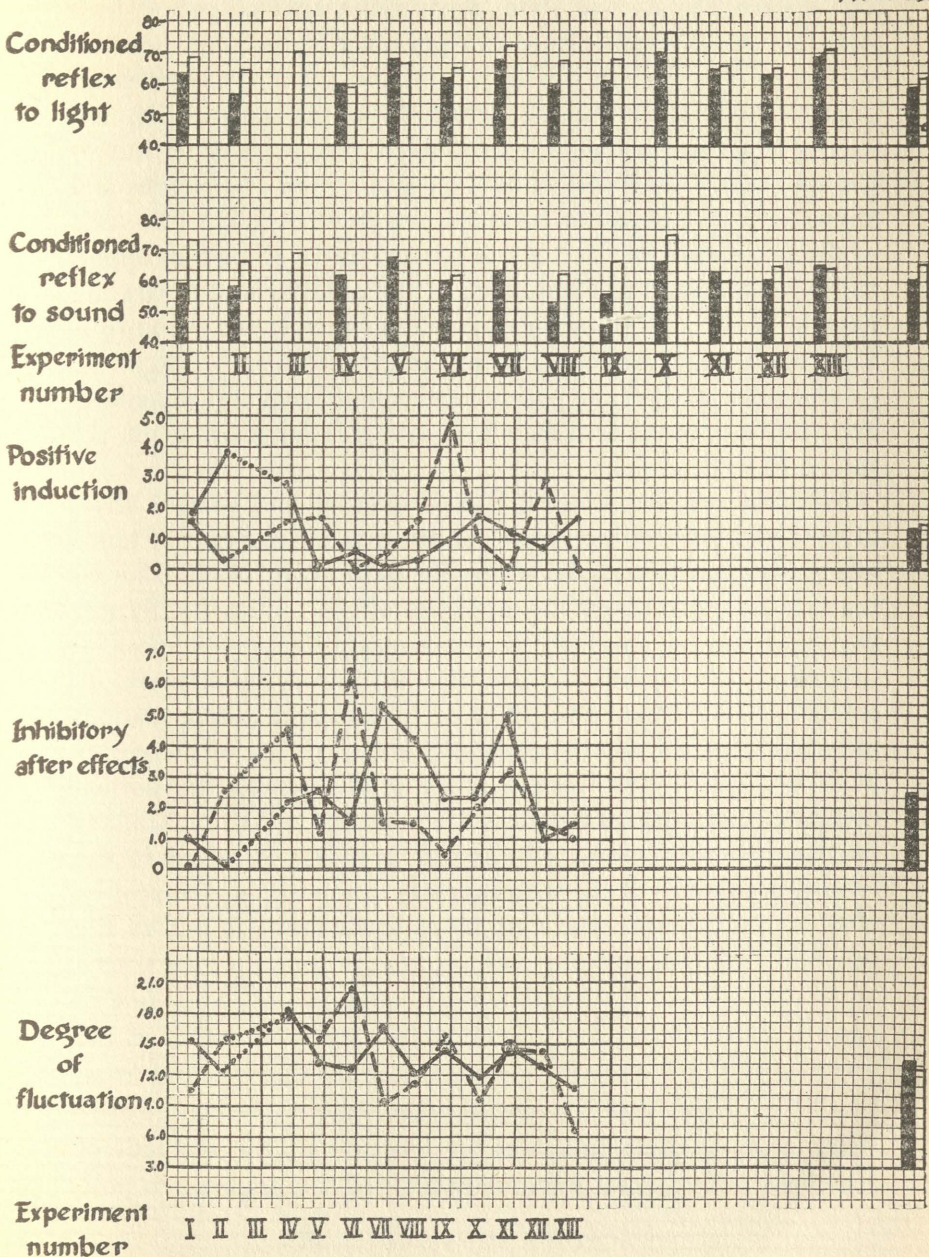
Magnitude of indicators	Data obtained during the whole day		Influence of the analytic hour
	Before analytic hour	After the hour	
Conditioned reflex to light	44.29	50.17	+5.88
Conditioned reflex to sound	39.55	45.24	+5.69
Positive induction	0	2.71	+2.71
Inhibitory after-effect	4.36	3.19	—1.17
Degree of fluctuation	16.75	13.00	—3.75
Dropped differentiations	0	0	

Control tests. Inasmuch as the increase in the tonus of the cortex may have been caused by the effectors of speech through kinæsthetic stimulation or by the fact that the patient was resting (the patient was lying down during the analytic hour), we performed the following control tests: the patient would lie down, as during the analytic hour, or would read a rather dull article aloud the entire hour. We made three control tests on each patient. The data from the control tests as well as from the experimental tests were compared and conclusions drawn.

Secondary control tests. In the course of the work it became obvious that we must note another important factor. Clinical experience shows that in studying the indicators it is very

I.

Average



■ Before Analysis □ After Analysis — Before Analysis
 ---- After Analysis

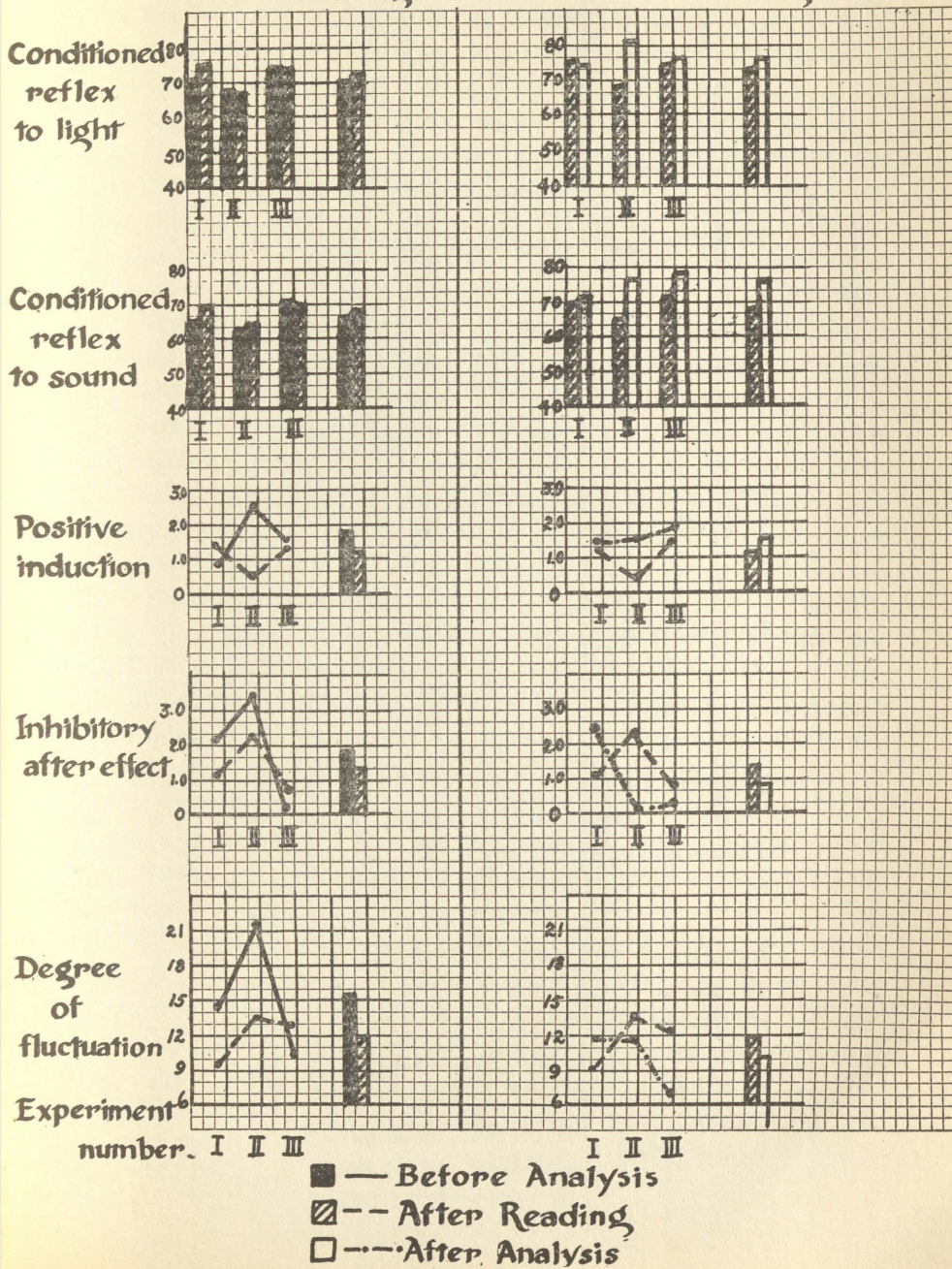
important to take into consideration the phase of the analysis. It might happen that in the experimental test period the nervous system was in one state, during the control period in a different state, which would not permit a comparison between the two. To obviate this objection the patient was given an analytic hour after the test, which followed the reading, and then a third test which was conducted along the same lines as the first two. This served as a control of the control test and allowed us to judge the condition of the neurodynamic state of the patient on the day of the control test. It gave an opportunity to compare the influence of the analysis and of reading neutral material also on the days when control tests were made. Figure 2 illustrates the results in the given case.

The work with other patients gave analogous and sometimes even more marked results. The averages for all patients are shown in Figure 3.

We thus see that both the experimental and control series of tests yielded similar results, indicating an increase in tonus of the cortex after analysis while the earlier control tests showed that reading produced the opposite effect. With hardly any variation in the strength of the conditioned reflex, positive induction decreased whereas the inhibitory after-effect increased. The relative number of interrupted differentiations indicates a significant increase in the excitability of the cortex after analysis, almost to the point of disturbing the normal dynamic relationships between the stimulus and the inhibitory processes in the cortex. Thus our problem is solved in the following sense. There is an increase in the tonus of the cortex after analytic hours, and this increase in tonus is due to the process of analytic therapy and not to stimulation of the speech apparatus. If we assume that the change in the magnitude of various indicators is due to the difference in function of the various parts of the cortex, we must then think of the following possibilities: (1) The increase in magnitude of the conditioned reflex after analysis indicates an increase in the strength of reaction of the central nervous system; (2) the increase in posi-

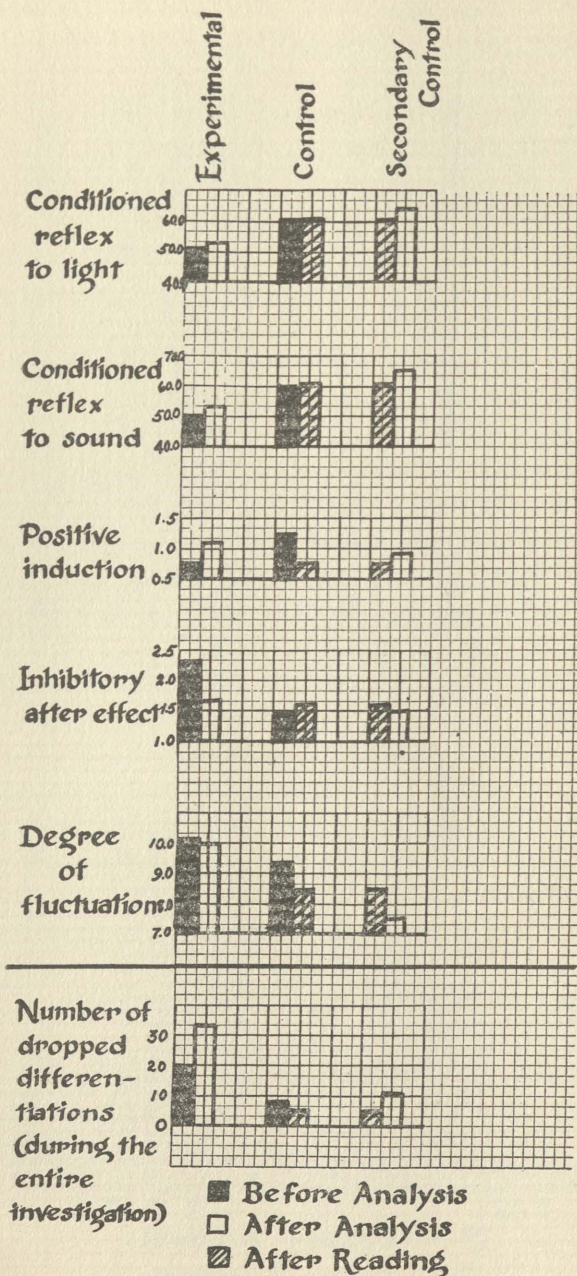
Control Tests

Average

II.
Secondary Control TestsAverage¹

Averages of the Means of All Tests.

III.



tive induction and the decrease in the inhibitory after-effect indicates the concentration of the inhibitory processes in that part of the brain from which they originate, causing an increase in the dynamic elasticity of the cortex; (3) the increase in positive induction also indicates a greater stability with respect to exogenous inhibitions and an increase in the capacity of the cortex in giving active motor responses to inhibitory stimuli.

The large number of interrupted differentiations shows the increase in irritability of the motor cortex after analysis. The marked variations in the cerebrodynamic processes explain those positive changes in the structure of the personality which are observed in successful cases of analytic therapy. As a rule, the patients who improve show greater alertness and freedom of conduct, greater strength and elasticity of reactions to life situations.

From Figure 1 one can see that not every analytic hour causes an increase in the conditioned reflex, and that when the latter was decreased there was a corresponding change in the magnitude of other indicators, that is, following analytic hours there was a decrease in the tonus of the cortex. In Experiment 3, the conditioned reflex before the analysis died out completely. To understand such variations in the course of the experiment we must turn to the clinical picture.

Patient V, female, age thirty-four, a nurse from the Lying-In Hospital, at the time of application for analysis was not working because of illness. Married for the second time, she had two children, a girl of ten and a girl of six. Physical status shows that the patient is inhibited, slowed up, with a dull facial expression. She made easy contact with the psychotherapist, and associated freely.

The patient came to analysis complaining of spells which occurred almost daily in connection with emotional states. During these spells there were convulsive movements. There was no loss of consciousness, no foaming at the mouth, no biting of the tongue, no micturition, no subsequent sleep, no nocturnal attacks. The patient did not leave the house alone on

account of these spells. In addition, she complained of inability to work, moodiness, and crying spells. The patient considered herself ill since the age of thirty. She stated that there had been no change in her personality. She was at times depressed because she was afraid that her illness might have a bad influence on her children. She was very fond of her little girls and was overprotective. Her intelligence was average. There were no illusions, hallucinations, or delusions. Her attention, memory, and recall were not disturbed. Her flow of thought was logical and sequential. Her fund of information was in conformity with her milieu and education. Her critical judgment was preserved. During the first hour when the patient suddenly heard the voice of her husband, who came to take her home, she carefully slid down from the couch on to the rug, stretched herself out, and lying on one side made a few convulsive movements (not lacking in grace) with her outstretched arms. Immediately thereafter she got up and continued the conversation. There was no loss of consciousness. She complained of a headache. The physical and neurological examinations showed nothing unusual. Her bodily type was a mixture of athletic and pyknic. The blood Wassermann was negative. The diagnosis was hysterical neurosis.

Family history: Both parents were teachers. The father died of heart failure at the age of sixty-nine. He was despotic, severe, and parsimonious. The children were afraid of him. The mother is sixty, living and well. A paternal uncle was an alcoholic, developed general paresis, and is now demented. A sister of the patient had a prolonged nervous illness, was treated by analysis, and had been well for ten years. A brother is an epileptic. The patient was born at term. She was a healthy, friendly child. The center of the family was the father who dominated everyone else. His wife adored him and demanded of the children that they should give him the very best of everything, especially sweets, which he would eat in front of the children without giving them any. The children were divided into the favorites and the black sheep. Our patient

felt herself to be a stranger in her own family, unloved and rejected. (She writes: 'My mother hits me and pinches me; I do not know why. I feel like crying and hitting her but all I can do is cry and I am so hurt I wish I were dead. Nobody ever hits sister Irene, and nobody is angry with her'.) Nevertheless the patient loved her mother and tenderly remembered the few occasions when she had shown her some affection. Toward her father she had only a feeling of bitterness, protest, fear and constant expectation of some injustice.

The patient has memories from the age of four. At that time she was sleeping in the same room with her parents and was not even allowed to cough. She was punished on the slightest provocation. At the age of five she developed fears, at six she was sent to a German grammar school where she felt strange, lonesome, and where she did poor work because she did not know the language. She could not get along with her classmates and was hurt by their teasing. At the age of six she began to masturbate, to which practice she was initiated by a demented uncle. At first she had a vague feeling of guilt and afterwards a severe inner conflict. Subsequent years the patient recalls as very difficult ones, especially because she was lonesome and neglected. She remembered spending a great deal of time by herself imagining that she was traveling with her favorite doll to unknown lands where both she and the doll were happy. When the patient was nine years of age the above-mentioned uncle attacked her younger sister. This made a terrible impression on the patient who became even more withdrawn. She could not sleep. At the age of twelve the patient was frightened by the thought that she was different from other people, that she was queer sexually and that it was all punishment for autoerotism. From then on she was afraid that other people would learn about it. She was afraid to fall asleep because she might become exposed and her mother would see that she was malformed and 'Nobody likes monsters'. Beginning with the age of thirteen there was a marked change for the better. She began to play the piano very well and she

showed a talent for drawing. She responded to praise, but the greatest help was from finding a book by Forel which explained that fears about being hurt by masturbation were unfounded. Menstruation began at the age of fourteen. At seventeen she graduated from high school and at her father's request became a kindergarten teacher. At the age of eighteen she entered a school of nursing. At nineteen she had her first hysterical attack, provoked by an insulting remark from her mother. At the age of twenty she fell in love, married and moved elsewhere. A baby girl was born within a year. The couple had a hard time financially. When she was twenty-two her husband became ill with typhoid and died. Just before his death she had another hysterical spell. The patient transferred all her affection to the daughter. She was forced to return to her father's house and resume her difficult and unpleasant job as a kindergarten teacher. She was discouraged by the situation at home, as she had to take care of her epileptic brother, who constantly threatened to commit suicide. Once while dressing she saw her brother in a mirror, a knife in his hand, stealing up slowly toward her. After this she developed a fear of open doors. She recalls with horror her father screaming and stamping his feet when her brother had epileptic seizures. At that time she went through both typhoid and typhus fever infections. At the age of twenty-four the patient remarried against her father's wish. At this time she had two hysterical spells. She left town with her husband and had another baby girl. Her married life was pleasant and peaceful. Her husband treated the older girl as if she were his own child. Two years after marriage the patient found her husband spanking the older girl, and immediately developed another hysterical spell. After this she felt that there was a break in her relationship with her husband, that there was a barrier between them. Hysterical episodes began to repeat themselves. She found certain faults in her husband which she had never noticed before. At the age of twenty-eight the attacks increased, occurring while she was on duty in the hospital and on the street. A physician

was consulted. Her husband surrounded her with a great deal of attention and love. For the time being the attacks ceased. Between her and her husband, however, the barrier remained. At thirty-one the attacks became more severe, and she became more nervous. She consulted physician after physician. Three years later the patient came for analysis. She improved rapidly, her attacks soon ceased, her mood improved and so did her ability to work. During the treatment the patient took up a course in draughtsmanship and completed it successfully. At the present time, that is, four years after the analysis, the patient is well and has a responsible position in an office and takes care of her home as well. There is no more feeling of a barrier between her and her husband. The relationship between the two is even and tender.

The course of analysis on the whole was quite typical. At first the patient brought conscious material, especially concerning the way she was treated by her parents. This was followed by the bringing out of unconscious material and her reactions to it. There was the feeling of being a monster, the complex of her fixation on her father, the transfer of hostility from father to husband and identification with her own oldest daughter. During the course of our experiments, the hours when the conditioned reflex was being established were taken up with the patient's reactions to her mistreatment by her parents. The first hour still belonged to this cycle but already a few favorable signs had appeared. The subsequent hours (second to ninth) were taken up with her feeling of being a monster, which was completely repressed in the patient's unconscious. The tenth and subsequent hours, which also included the control tests, took up her positive relationship with her father and the analysis of the transference of this feeling toward her husband.

Extracts from the protocols. Second hour: The main theme was abnormal and sick people and her fear of them.

Third hour: She recalled the scene after her sister was sexually assaulted; then spoke of the meanness of adults toward

her. While she related this, there was marked agitation, and she said, 'I frequently stop talking during the hour. My thoughts jump from subject to subject, childhood to youth, and up to date everything is mixed up and it is hard to say anything definitely. I am tired; my head aches. I have a feeling that there is something in my head which does not let me recall things that happened when I was a child. I am trying to recall but I can't. . . . I must recall when I began to be afraid of mother and father.' During this hour the patient did not mention that the day before, while waiting in the office of the dean (a middle aged professor of mathematics whom she did not like), she had a hysterical episode 'when she saw the abnormal excitable' conduct of one of the students. The associations brought up a memory of her father who was also a teacher of mathematics and the 'abnormal' brother, the epileptic, as well as her own feelings about being sick.

Fourth hour: Recalls a suicidal attempt when she was in the state of conflict about her second marriage. Her parents objected to the choice. In talking about it the patient was greatly upset. 'Everything shakes within me.'

Fifth hour: The patient brings some material which she could not recall before. For several days she was thinking about the little flower garden seen from the windows of her father's study, but she could never get beyond that. Yesterday while she was jotting down what happened during the last analytic hour, something flashed into her head 'like lightning'. It was in this garden that she felt her own body for the first time (age twelve) and understood that she was a monster. Her genitalia were not like those of other girls, and this was a punishment for masturbation, and worst of all, she would never be able to have a child of her own. While relating these events there was a marked outpouring of emotion. 'My heart was squeezed, my arms and legs were twitching, I began to cry, I threw myself on my bed.' The patient was extremely excited, cried at times and laughed. Finally she said, 'At least I recalled something which tortured me and which I could not recall before.'

The sixth, seventh, and eighth hours brought out nothing unusual. In the seventh hour the patient said, 'I have a feeling as if I were going through a long sickness. I do not wish to think of anything or recall anything.' At the same time the patient was doing well in her studies, had passed her examinations and had received credit for the courses.

In the ninth hour there was still reference to her being abnormal sexually, and there were new inhibitory signs. The patient did not feel like coming to the office, it was hard for her to talk, etc. The tenth hour was more closely related to the depressive cycle. Anxiety appears in her associations: 'In my brain there is blazed the word fear, unmotivated, animal fear.' In the eleventh hour we have the analysis of a dream, bringing to consciousness a positive libidinal attitude toward her father, which had been present in early childhood but which was deeply buried under a conscious feeling of hate. (For lack of space we are presenting a summary of the hour, illustrating the curves. To give the analysis in anything like complete form would require a special monograph.) The patient reached this state with a great deal of emotion, and spoke again of trembling all over.

In the subsequent hours there was a typical reaction to this complex, and during the control tests there was revealed a positive attitude to the husband on a basis of her identification of him with her own father.

From these short notes, summarizing the analytic hours, we see the associative material becoming more and more charged with emotion as the fundamental dynamic complexes come to the surface with the vegetative reactions becoming at the same time more and more marked. The greatest emotion and the most marked vegetative reactions were observed in the fifth and eleventh hours, that is, while the patient was uncovering her positive feeling toward her father in her infancy. In the subsequent hours there was a marked reduction in the affective tone. The same held true of the vegetative reaction.

Now let us see what our experiments show hour by hour. To bring out the contrast we will change the form of Figure 1,

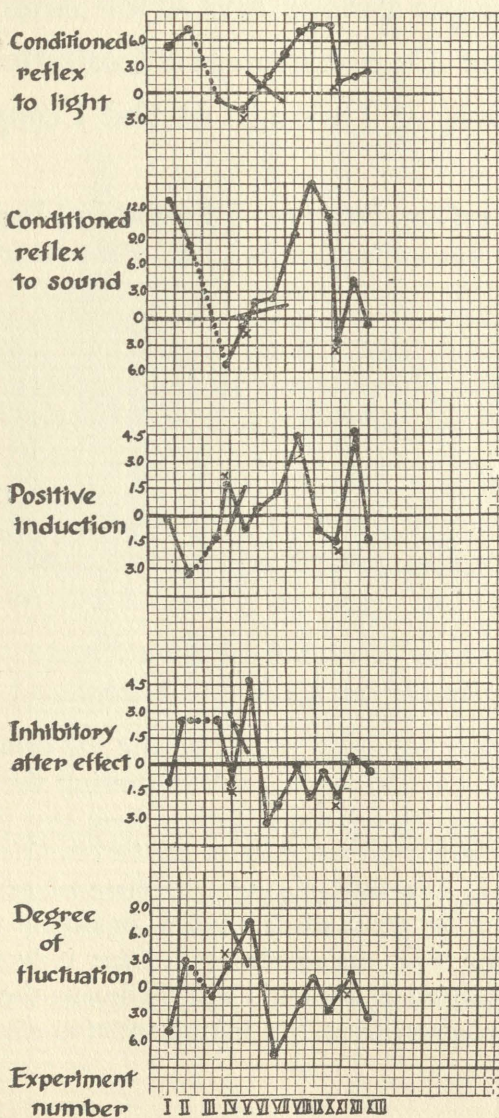
taking into consideration the difference in magnitude of the indicators before and after analysis. Our curves thus show in a purely objective way the influence of the analysis on the various indicators, day by day.

In Figure 4 we see the experiments conducted during the hours when the patient uncovered her complex of being a monster and a freak. Those hours during which the unconscious material came to the surface are marked with crosses. As a base line let us take the curves showing the influence of the analysis on the magnitude of the conditioned reflex. A glance reveals the marked fluctuations in these curves. The time that the patient recalled imagining herself to be a freak corresponds to the lowest points in the curves, in the fourth hour for sound stimuli, and in the fifth hour for light stimuli. It was between the fourth and fifth hours that the patient recalled at home the above-mentioned period of her adolescence. After this material came to the surface, the curve took a turn upward.

When more unconscious material came to the surface, dealing with her positive feeling for her father, we encountered the same phenomenon. As the depressive affect in the eleventh hour increased, the curve dips, the lowest level being reached on the day when the unconscious material appeared. With the discharge of liberated emotion the curves also rise.

During the thirteenth hour the following exogenous factors exerted an influence: the patient's daughter became ill, causing a change in the trend of the curve, which corresponds to depressive episodes in other patients. Experiments were stopped until this situation was ameliorated. Such changes in the curves appeared in all the other cases. They indicate that the analytic work, especially the bringing forth of the unconscious material, produces two opposite effects. We call them the depression and exaltation phases in the lifting of the unconscious. In therapy they correspond to the periods of resistance and transference. The typical clinical picture of such periods is a deepening depressive state during the period of resistance

IV Curves Showing the Influence of Analysis on the Magnitude of Indicators in the Units of the Reflexometer.



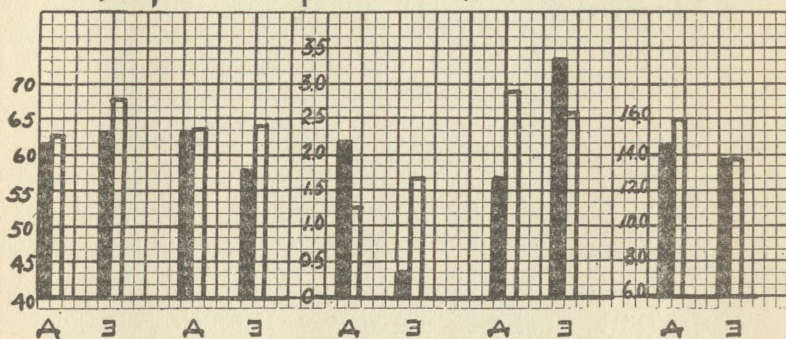
and a feeling of well-being during the period of abreaction. Other indicators show less marked but similar findings (in the curves of inhibitory after-effect and of amplitude of fluctuation.)

If we consider separately the average readings of indicators

V.

The Averages Before and After Analysis During the Depression and Exaltation Phases of the Working Through of the Complex

Conditioned reflex | Positive | Inhibitory | Degree of
to light | to sound | induction | after effect | fluctuations



A Depression Phase Э Exaltation Phase

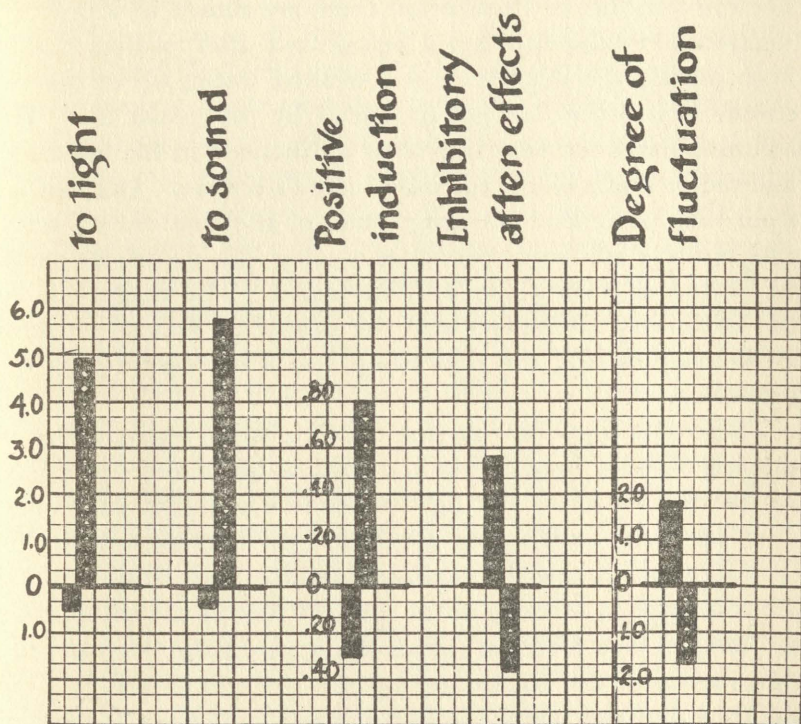
■ Before Analysis □ After Analysis

in depression and exaltation phases during the bringing forth of unconscious material, we have data showing the difference in response to analytic therapy during these two phases. In Figure 5 we see that the *magnitude of the conditioned reflex* becomes greatly increased during the phase of exaltation as contrasted with the phase of depression, especially with reference to sound. The *magnitude of positive induction* drops during the depressive phase, and increases during the exaltation phase. The *magnitude of the inhibitory after-effect*, on the

contrary, increases during the depressive phase and decreases during the phase of exaltation. The *degree of fluctuation in*

VI.

Magnitude of Conditioned Reflex



■ Depression Phase □ Exaltation Phase

the magnitude of the conditioned reflex is increased during the depressive phase and remains without change during the phase of exaltation. Thus analytic therapy does not affect in one given manner the neurodynamic state of the patient during the various phases. If during the exaltation the tonic influence on

the cortex expresses itself very clearly, in the depression there is a lowering of the tonus of the cortex after the analytic hours, as shown by changes in the indicators. Such a contrasting influence of analytic therapy on the neurodynamic state during the two phases of the analytic work was even more marked in other cases, as the average magnitude of the conditioned reflex is also decreased after the analytic hours, when the patient is depressed. A summary of our results is given in Figure 6. For the purposes of illustration there are shown in it only the differences in the indicators before and after analytic hours, both during the depressive and exalted states, which demonstrates clearly the changes produced by psychoanalysis. The columns above the base line show an increase in the indicators and the columns below the base line, a decrease. One can see from this figure that the magnitude of the conditioned reflex and positive induction decrease during the depressive phase and increase during the exalted phase. The magnitude of the inhibitory after-effect and the degree of fluctuation show an increase during the depression and a decrease during the exaltation.

These data show that during the depression analytic psychotherapy causes a lowering of the cortical tonus and conversely, an increase in tonus during the positive phase of exaltation. Our previous conclusions are based on the changes in the cortical tonus during the exaltation (which must be understood as an attempt at leveling off of the reactions of the cortex after the unconscious material comes up, and, on the contrary, the disturbance of the cortex during the preceding period). We see thus that the positive effect of analytic therapy is reached during the period when the unconscious material comes to the surface. The preceding negative period (period of resistance) is unavoidable and prepares the soil for the positive or exaltation phase. Clinically, every analyst knows how poorly patients feel and how inhibited they are during that period, which can be easily understood in terms of cross-currents in the unconscious of the patient with a lowering of the tonus of the cortex.

From this we conclude that one of the principles of analytic therapy, which demands that every patient complete his analysis and that he should not interrupt it during the period of resistance, has an objective foundation in the neurodynamic state of the patient. Complexes which are activated but not solved lower the tonus of the cortex and contribute to the feeling of inadequacy and disorganized conduct.

The given data allow us to understand certain relationships in the cortex of the patient. Analysis and experiment stimulate different parts of the cortex. We shall call these the 'complex' and the 'extra-complex' regions of the cortex. During the analytic hour only the 'complex' regions become activated; during the experiment only the 'extra-complex'. The data from our experiments show how changes in the extra-complex regions come as a result of certain neurodynamic processes which take place in the complex regions of the cortex. If we assume as a working hypothesis that nerve cells in which the engram of the complex takes place represent a dynamically localized focus of disease, the changes in the indicators in our experiments can be explained very simply. During the depressive phase, stimulation of the complex part of the cortex by analysis causes a negative induction in the surrounding parts, that is, the extra-complex part of the cortex becomes inhibited. Stimuli reaching this region produce a much weaker reaction than before the complex became activated. With every analytic hour the stimulation of the complex zones becomes increased by a process resembling summation, as a result of which negative induction in the extra-complex part of the cortex is increased. Hence there is a dipping of the curves, which is due to the influence of the analysis on the strength of the conditioned reflex, hour by hour, during the depressive phase and corresponding variations in the curves of the other indicators. (See Figure 4.) After it reaches a certain strength, the stimulation breaks through, and when the unconscious material comes to the surface it extends to the speech areas of the cortex. Here you have stormy expressions relating to the

complex accompanied by vegetative and facial manifestations. On such a day the complex part of the cortex is stimulated to a maximum, so that positive induction also reaches its maximum force and the tonus of the extra-complex regions drops especially low. Subsequently the stimulation which has been stored up in this region gets an opportunity for an effective discharge, in view of the fact that there is interlocking of the zone of the complex and the speech zone in the cortex. It decreases from one analytic hour to the next, verbal expressions become more quiet and negative induction in the extra-complex regions of the cortex decreases. Hence there is a progressive rise in height of the curves, showing the influence on the magnitude of the conditioned reflex during the period of exaltation with corresponding changes in the values of the other indicators.

One can think also of another physiological mechanism which appears with the production of unconscious material. Apparently after the first period of excitation when the patient begins to bring out material, the inhibitory barrier weakens and the stimulation which is caused by the analytic hour in the complex region of the cortex radiates into the extra-complex region, thus increasing its tonus. From this point of view one can understand the dropping out of the conditioned reflex before the analysis in Experiment 3. As is known, Pavlov considers the hysterical attack a result of a strong inhibition of the cortex with positive induction in the sub-cortical areas releasing the primitive motor mechanisms. When our patient was taking her examinations there was such a strong local stimulation in the complex zone that a very strong negative induction developed in the extra-complex zone, as a result of which the hysterical attack took place. When the test was being made on that day, the residuals of this inhibition in the cortex were so strong that a well-established conditioned reflex completely died out. When the subsequent hour of therapy removed this inhibition, the conditioned reflex was reestablished.

Up to now we have not distinguished between uncovering the complex and lifting the amnesia (when the unconscious

becomes conscious). In this case the two coincide. The hours during which the amnesia was lifted caused the greatest lowering of tonus of the cortex after which the curve showing the influence of analysis began to rise. In other cases, however, which were studied but which for lack of space cannot be reported here, the sessions when the unconscious material became conscious caused an opposite effect, that is, there was a sharp and occasionally maximal increase in the tonus of the cortex. In still other cases we observed no marked differences in the tonus of the cortex when the unconscious material became conscious. Thus the phenomenon of becoming aware of the unconscious in analytic therapy cannot be definitely correlated with any specific activity in the central nervous system.

Again, analytic experience shows that most of the complexes of the patient are not subject to amnesia, although their working through goes along the same way as those complexes which are buried in the unconscious. At first there is a period of resistance or, to be more accurate, inhibition of the patient; then the inner barrier is overcome, and the patient begins to talk a great deal and with much emotion. The content of what he says has never dropped from his memory; he had no intention of concealing it from the analyst but he could not talk about it for reasons which he did not understand himself. 'I couldn't do it. I did not realize that it was important.' etc. One gets the distinct impression that there is need for a preparatory period, a sort of maturation of the complex, before its expression becomes possible. Our investigation shows that in such cases we have the same changes in the curves during the various phases as in those cases where amnesia is in force. Such regular changes in the tonus of the cortex during the analytic work, whether it contains the elements of amnesia or not, allow us to postulate that we are dealing with the same neurodynamic structure but with a different functional (or even anatomic) localization.

Inasmuch as the whole course of analytic therapy always involves the working through of certain complexes irrespective

of whether the patient knows about them or not, the whole work with these complexes—their activation and subsequent destruction, with freeing the central nervous system from them, and the removal of the pathological foci—is the essence of analytic therapy. The psychological phenomenon of awareness of the unconscious in this process is only a part of the picture which may be very important for those cases in which it is found, but it does not determine the essence of the therapeutic effect in analysis. In the case of the particular patient under discussion, various drives were blocked by her environment since childhood. Being inactive for many years, partly forgotten, partly on the fringe of consciousness, they became reanimated during the analysis. The stimulation, which was dormant for many years in the form of complexes, was again reactivated by analysis and brought into contact with motor areas of the cortex and discharged or abreacted in the motor system. Due to lack of space we cannot go deeper into the mechanism of analytic therapy. However, it seems to us that we have brought out enough to illuminate from a somewhat different point of view certain theoretical points, which we hope may be of value in clinical practice.

Conclusions.

1. An investigation of the influence of analytic therapy on the neurodynamics of the patient, carried on for a certain period, shows that the process of therapy causes an increase in tonus of the cortex. Control experiments show that this is caused not by stimulation of the cortex coming from the cortical speech centers, but by the process of analytic therapy itself. Control experiments confirm this supposition.

2. A more detailed investigation shows the usual variations in the course of analysis, that is, the alternation of periods of resistance with periods of abreaction which reflect themselves in the experiments. In a period of resistance the analytic sessions cause a progressively decreasing tonus of the cortex, namely, a depressive phase in the working through of the mate-

rial. During the period of abreaction there is a progressive increase in the tonus, that is, a phase of exaltation in the working through of the material. In comparing the changes in the tonus of the cortex with the content of analytic material, we find that each wave consists of the depression and exaltation which correspond to the working through of certain painful affective experiences or complexes.

In those cases where there was lifting of amnesia between the two phases, the effect had the character of an uncovering of the complex. During such an hour there was the greatest lowering of the tonus of the cortex. In other cases the removal of amnesia corresponded to other points in the neurodynamic curves. In still other cases there was no response to such material. However, a diphasic character of working through of certain complexes was found in all cases.

3. The changes in the tonus of the cortex, already described, which are produced by analytic therapy give us the following working hypothesis: to the psychiatric concept of a complex there corresponds in the cortex a definite functionally localized pathodynamic structure, caused by an impact of the process of excitation and inhibition, which at one time in the life of the patient created a difficult problem for his nervous system, and was reflected in his psyche as a conflict. This pathodynamic structure possesses an increased excitability and has a 'dominant' character with respect to a number of stimuli.

4. From the point of view of our working hypothesis variations in the cortical tonus during analysis can be explained as follows: In the beginning of the working through of the complex by analysis there is a stimulation of the corresponding complex area of the cortex which is local in character. As a result of this there develops a negative induction in the extra-complex regions with a lowering of the tonus of the cortex.

As the analysis goes on, the excitation in the zone of the complex increases. After it reaches a certain concentration it overcomes the inhibition engendered in the complex and goes beyond its limits. A contact is established with the speech

areas of the cortex, vocal expressions are given an outlet and are accompanied by a great deal of emotion. In those cases where there is amnesia, it is removed at this time. In subsequent hours the local character of excitation of the complex is lost, and with the activation of the complex it radiates into the extra-complex regions of the cortex, due to which the tonus of the latter increases. Thanks to the abreaction and other phenomena of analytic therapy the excitability of the zone of the complex decreases from hour to hour. When a certain minimum is reached another complex becomes more prominent (a complex which up to the present time was in the area of negative induction), and the story of the previous complex is repeated.

5. The specificity of analytic therapy consists in the release of the cortex from the pathodynamic mental structures present in it. The technique of the analysis leads to the activation of stimulation potentialities hidden in these structures, with their subsequent discharge in effector (speech) reactions. In this paper the author is not in a position to go into greater details with regard to the therapeutic process in analytic therapy which, of course, is not limited to abreaction.

Translated by JACOB KASANIN

GIOVANNI SEGANTINI

A PSYCHOANALYTIC ESSAY¹

BY KARL ABRAHAM

We possess a number of small sketches and a large biographical work by Franz Servaes of the life and art of Giovanni Segantini. It has appeared in the monumental Segantini Edition, published by the Austrian Government, as well as in a popular edition². Servaes gives us in every way an excellent description of Segantini, the artist as well as the man; therefore it is not our intention in this essay to try to surpass the portraiture of this author. We look for problems of another kind: it is not our aim to describe once more the peculiarities of Segantini, but to explain them psychologically.

The psychoanalytic researches of Freud and his school throw a new light on the typical and individual phenomena of the life of the mind. From these researches in the unconscious we are able to deduce important disclosures about the laws governing artistic creation. One of the later works of Freud entitled, *A Childhood Remembrance of Leonardo da Vinci*, has, apart from its other values, yielded important insight into the artistic individuality of this master. On the other hand, no one has yet undertaken the consideration of the whole life and psychic individuality of a creative artist from the point of view of the psychoanalyst, or to show in his art the effect of the unconscious. Among the creative artists of our time Giovanni Segantini stands out as a powerful independent personality. His development, his outer and inner life, his art,

¹ Abraham, Karl: *Giovanni Segantini, ein psychoanalytischer Versuch*. Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde, H. XI, p. 65. Wien: Deuticke, 1911, 1925. First published in German in 1911. Revised edition published in German in 1925. It appears here published for the first time in English.

² Servaes, Franz: *Giovanni Segantini. Sein Leben und sein Werk*. Leipzig, 1907. All references in which the number of the page is given in the text refer to this edition.

his works are so definitely individual that they place before psychology a whole series of unsolved problems. To view these in the light of psychoanalysis is the object of the author.

The reader may object that it is a physician who is trying to analyze by this new method the life of an artist's soul. The reason for it lies in the development of psychoanalytic research whose original purpose was to find the unknown roots of unhealthy conditions of the mind, and although psychoanalysis soon crossed the boundaries of this narrow sphere and showed itself to be a fruitful method of research into the most varied conditions of the life of the soul, nevertheless the circle of its adherents consists mainly of physicians. The doctor who has obtained through analysis a thorough knowledge of the unconscious of the neurotic has a definite advantage over other observers. He finds in artists a number of psychological peculiarities which are familiar to him from the study of neurotics. Admittedly there is an important difference between the aim of this essay and the medical use of psychoanalysis. The medical therapist joins with the patient in a common task. Slowly he gains a deeper insight into the unconscious of the patient and waits until he can fill the incidental gaps in his material with the help given by the patient. Conditions are different when it is a matter of analyzing the soul life of one who is no longer living. Here one has to explain the available material by comparison with the experiences that most nearly corresponded to them.

The material that has been left to us by Segantini in his works, his notes, his letters, or that has been collected by others, is naturally not without gaps. I therefore am quite aware of the fact that this analysis will not render it possible to give an answer to all questions. Is this a reason for not attempting it? Segantini's rich personality offers too much that is rare and attractive to allow one to renounce the idea. A genial artist, a great man such as Segantini, has the right to claim that we who were his contemporaries explore his ways and habits and try to understand them.

I

When death came to Segantini on September 28, 1899, it took him from the midst of his creative activity. Only ten days earlier he had ascended Sheep Mountain near Pontresina for the purpose of completing on its summit the center panel of his Triptych of Alpine Scenery. This last large masterpiece was much more to him than a mere glorification of the heights. For his interpretation of art was by no means exhausted by an accurate representation of what he perceived; he believed that art should express the most personal ideas and feelings of the artist. For this reason he painted nature as the loving benefactress, as a mother with her child at her breast, and both the human and the animal mother. He painted the awaking dawn, awaking nature, the genesis of mankind, painted all living creation at the height of its development, and finally painted the close of day, nature frozen up and the end of man. And so in his last masterpiece he expressed with more insistence than ever before the common relationship of all creatures to nature and their common fate.

Segantini had painted all these subjects before, both singly and in many ways together—ever and again with new variations. Thus he produced his lasting masterpieces: *The Mothers*, *Springtime in the Alps*, *Ploughing in the Engadine*, *The Return to the Mother Country*, and many more. Yet still he felt the urge to paint another masterpiece, which was to prove his last. In this symphony of life he wished to express all that for him represented the essential meaning and value of life.

One is by no means compelled to guess this intention of the artist from the evidence of the picture itself; he has also expressed this intention in his writings. On several occasions he exchanged the brush for the pen in order to defend his interpretation of the essence of art against the opinions of others. A year previous to his death he composed an answer to Tolstoy's question, 'What is Art?'. In this answer he laid

great stress on the importance of the ethical, basic idea of any work of art. The exercise of art is a cult to him, a religion which has to glorify and transfigure labor, love, motherhood and death. Here, in Segantini's own words, are the springs which ever and again fed the full stream of his artistic fantasy.

Other artists have of course also drawn inspiration from the same sources. But it is characteristic of Segantini's individuality that for him all these springs flow into one river, that for him apparently widely separated groups of ideas are actually inevitably connected. A glance at Segantini's life shows us that it was governed by the same principles that governed his art. We may ask, whence did his achievements, his mode of life, receive this bent? Example and education, of this we may be certain, played no positive part, for at the age of five Segantini had already lost both his parents. The circumstances of his youth can have assisted neither his spiritual nor his moral development. He grew up without any proper education, and neither the years that he spent under the rough treatment of his stepbrothers (and stepsisters?), nor those spent in a school of correction, can be expected to have exercised a refining influence on him. His youth contained few gleams of sunshine. It was a continual struggle against unfriendly influences. His artistic ideals, his character, his view of life, almost everything, had to be created by himself alone.

Only the psychoanalytic method of investigation can do justice to this puzzle of his development, because this method bases its observations on the instincts of childhood. And in applying this method, I do so with no less an authority than Segantini himself. 'You enquire', he writes in one of his letters³, 'how Thought and Art have been able to develop in my almost savage life among the wilds of nature. I really know no answer to give you; perhaps, to obtain a satisfactory explanation, one would have to descend to the very roots, and in that way study and analyze every feeling of the soul right down to the first, yes, the very furthest flutterings of childhood.'

³ *Giovanni Segantini's Schriften und Briefe*. Herausgegeben von Bianca Segantini. Leipzig: Klinkhart and Biermann, p. 82.

And so, following this advice of the artist, I turn to his childhood. The most important happening in Segantini's childhood, was the early death of his mother. He was scarcely five years old when he suffered this loss. Seldom probably has a child cultivated the memory of his mother with such love as Segantini did, and this love grew ever greater with the years. His mother became gradually the ideal being, the goddess; the art of the son was offered up in worship to her. He who had so early become an orphan knew no loving care during the whole of his youth. Was it on account of this lack that he became *the* painter of motherhood? Did he in his art make an ideal of that which in life he had never enjoyed? This explanation seems obvious, but we shall soon find that it is incomplete.

There are many children who in their tender years suffer the same misfortune as our artist. Usually, however, they scarcely understand the seriousness of their loss, are soon consoled, and remember the dead only when grown-ups revive some recollection. Only occasionally are memories or childish feelings not so easily erased. But in the case of Segantini we find a different picture. He never forgets the image of his mother; his fantasy develops it until it becomes the pivot of his whole intellectual world. This negative motive alone—the lack of motherly care—cannot explain such a sovereign power of the mother-ideal. Segantini himself has given us the clearest indication where we are to seek the roots of this power. We find at the commencement of his autobiography: 'I retain my mother in my memory, and were it possible for her to appear once again at this moment to me, I believe I should still recognize her after thirty-one years. In the eye of the spirit I still see her tall form, walking wearily. She was beautiful, not like the blush of morning or like high noon, but like a sunset in spring. She was not yet twenty-nine years old when she died.' Notice that in these words of the mature man there is no single mention of motherly love or care! And when we read his description of the sad period which dawned for him with his mother's death, we wait in vain for any com-

parison to be drawn between the happy time he spent with his mother and the sad years which followed. Of this we find no single word. On the contrary, he discusses totally different matters: the beauty and the form, the movement, the carriage, and the youth of his mother, that mother whose picture is ever in his mind's eye.

Imagine the two words 'my mother' omitted from the above quotation and that one were then asked to explain the meaning of the lines. The only possible explanation would be that a lover is speaking of the beloved whom he has lost. Only thus can the depth of feeling in the words used be explained.

In the words of the adult we seem to hear the love life of the child. The science of psychoanalysis has already accustomed us to the view that the first expressions of the love life in a son are usually directed towards his mother. These feelings of love, the character of which in early childhood until about the age of five is perfectly obvious to the unprejudiced observer, alter their characteristic appearance gradually during the further course of childhood. The primitive love life of the child is purely egoistic. It is directed towards the unlimited possession of its object, and begrudges it if others also obtain pleasure from the proximity of the loved one. It shows manifestations of hate as well as of love. At that period of yet untrammelled impulses and instincts, a boy's love is combined with an aggressive, even a cruel bent.

The study of neurotic minds has proved that in certain persons all these impulses exist in a particularly strong form. Extremes are found in the childhoods of those persons who are affected in later life by obsessional neuroses. Their instinctual life is conspicuous because of the fact that feelings of love and hate are continually intermingled and give rise to severe conflicts. In such cases one finds regularly an overwhelming love for the parents coexisting with feelings of hate that go to the extreme of wishing for their deaths.

An inhibition of these instincts by means of the processes of substitution and sublimation follows during the succeeding years of childhood both in the case of normal subjects and

neurotics. In this manner the socially important repressions are formed, which reduce the strength of these instincts, or alternatively in some cases either extinguish them altogether or else bend them to other more altruistic ends. According to the mental inclination of the individual, a portion of this sexual energy is transformed into mental activity, for instance, scientific or artistic activity. The greater the original strength of the instincts, the more intensive and more complete the sublimation necessary before the individual can submit completely to their demands.

Contrary to the opinion previously held, it is now accepted that the primitive feelings towards the parents, just as other expressions of love and hate, arise from the sexual feelings of the child. The individual must later obey the demand of civilization, to honor his father and his mother. Note that the commandment does not order one to love one's parents, for this would only forbid the feelings of hate. The commandment is, to an equal extent, both against love and hate, for both are essentially sexual expressions. Both conflict with the interdiction against incest, and from their common sublimation arise feelings of worship which are free from sex.

Are we then to understand that the mother worship, the complete spiritualization of which gives Segantini's works their characteristic stamp, rests on a sexual basis? The researches of psychoanalysis permit us to answer this question definitely in the affirmative. It is true, as mentioned above, that most of this information was gained from the study of neurotics, so that we must justify ourselves somewhat before we make use of this experience in discussing the individuality of Segantini. In both cases we have instincts of originally abnormal strength, which have undergone a complete change owing to a particularly complete substitution and sublimation. Artists and neurotics both stand with but one foot in reality, the other in a universe of their own fantasy. In the case of the neurotic his supplanted instincts are transformed into the symptoms of his disease. The artist's instincts find expression in his work but not alone in this. We always find neurotic traits in an artist.

He is never completely successful in the sublimation of his supplanted instincts which, to a certain extent, always give rise to neurotic phenomena. This is the case with Segantini.

As we learn from the psychoanalysis of neurotics, the process of substitution causes an important displacement in the feelings of the boy. The over-strong erotic attraction is replaced in his consciousness by the thankful, worshipful love for the mother who cares for him. On the one hand, the incestuous feeling is repressed, and on the other, the valuation of motherhood is strongly stressed.⁴ This compensating over-evaluation of motherhood is especially strong in Segantini, just as we find it in the neurotic.

From this and other manifestations to be discussed later, one may come to the conclusion that the childish sexual feelings of Segantini were directed towards his mother in extreme feelings of love and of hate, later completely sublimated. This sexual feeling, as I see it, was spiritualized to mother worship, to a profound veneration of mother nature, to a selfless altruistic love which embraced all creation.

Just as in the case of the neurotic, we find in Segantini occasional eruptions of the suppressed instincts. The original eroticism of the child cannot be completely sublimated; occasionally one observes symptoms of it, though admittedly in a much milder form. It is impossible not to recognize an erotic element in the description which Segantini has given of his mother, even though it has obviously been subjected to a tremendous refining process. Art had to assist him in spiritualizing the form of his mother and to raise it above all earthly feelings. A series of the most beautiful works of Segantini shows us a mother tenderly looking at the child at her breast. In each of these works we are enchanted by the slender, youthful female form, by the slightly bent posture and the delicate lovely features. These pictures were produced about the artist's thirtieth year, when he was living at Savognin in the Graubünden district. About this time he created various pictures without models, entirely from his fantasy. Two of them

⁴ Other effects connected with this process will be discussed later.

were conceived in peculiar circumstances, which are of great interest to us.

Segantini tells us that the sight of a rose once gave him an almost sensual feeling which would not leave him. As he was slowly pulling the petals from the flower, he had a vision of a rosy youthful face. Moved by this vision, he painted over an earlier picture of a girl dying of tuberculosis, who was transformed into a rosy young woman.

We can understand this happening better when we consider a second and similar instance, the description of which I have taken from Servaes' biography. 'As Segantini one day—he himself relates—was ascending the last slopes of a high mountain, he saw, when only a few paces from the peak, a large flower which seemed to spring out of the bright blue sky and was clearly silhouetted against it. It appeared to be a flower of great beauty, and of a color which he thought he had never seen before. Lying flat on the slope he gazed at the lovely thing, as it stood there alone in the full light of the sky. And then it happened that the flower, as it were, grew to a gigantic size before his eyes, and that it took on, in his imagination, charming human forms. The large stalk turned into a bent branch, and upon it there rested in all her charm the seated form of a blonde and rosy young woman, holding a naked child in her lap; the child held in its hands a dark red apple, corresponding to the robust pistil that rose out of the flower. Segantini then painted this vision and called it, *Of an Alpine Flower*. Later he gave the picture the name, *The Fruit of Love*.'

The artist immediately associated the beauty of a flower with the beauty of his long dead mother. At this moment the flower and his mother are identical to him. Before his eyes the flower turns into the picture of a Madonna. The erotic background of this fantasy will become especially clear to those who do not overlook the meaning of certain symbols that occur here, and that recur in all creations of the human imagination.

Servaes rightly remarks that the figure of the child in the picture *Fruit of Love* attracts attention by reason of its vigor-

ous health, in contrast with its delicate looking mother. Is it possible that the artist has pictured himself beside the mother, in the form of this child which looks so full of life? The fact that when Segantini was born he was so weak that he had to be baptized privately seems to speak against this. Yet another circumstance confirms our hypothesis. In the autobiography he says: 'My birth caused a weakening of my mother's health, which resulted in her death five years later. To recover from this weakness she went to Trient in the fourth year, but the cure did her no good.' The young wife did not recover and pined away while the child, which had deprived her of her strength, developed and outlived her.

However, the quoted words are worthy of attention for still another reason. The thought of having caused the death of a beloved person is encountered very frequently in neurotics. As already mentioned, the childish libido of a neurotic is characterized by strong feelings of hate. These express themselves in fantasies of the death of the loved person or, if the latter really dies, in feelings of satisfaction, even in a cruel joy. When later the force of repression unfolds, feelings of guilt arise which the neurotic cannot fight down, even though in his conscious memory he can find no grounds for these self-reproaches. He reproaches himself with being responsible for the death of his father or his mother, although his childish sins consisted only of forbidden fantasies and feelings. These self-reproaches are followed by attempts to make good the wrong done; in obsessional neurotics particularly are these attempts greatly exaggerated. The memory of the loved person is cherished with over-emphasized love, surrounded with a halo. Or alternatively an attempt is made to drive the fact of death out of consciousness, and to raise the dead one to life again in fantasy.

An event in his childhood, which he himself tells us about ⁵, shows clearly that for Segantini mother worship was a compensation with which he made up for unfriendly or cruel

⁵ In a letter to the poetess Neera. Collection of Bianca Segantini, op. cit., p. 84.

emotions of his childhood: "The first time that I ever took a pencil into my hand to draw was when I heard a woman say to her neighbors, "Oh! If I only had her picture, she was so beautiful!" Deeply moved at these words I saw the beautiful features of a young, despairing mother. One of the women present pointed to me and said, "Let the boy here make a drawing; he is very clever." The beautiful eyes of the young mother, full of tears, turned to me. She spoke no word, but went into the death chamber, and I followed her. In a cradle lay the body of a tiny girl, who could not have been much more than a year old; her mother gave me paper and pencil and I began. I worked for several hours; the mother wanted me to draw the child as she had been during her life. I know not how successful the picture was from an artistic standpoint, but I remember that for a moment the poor woman looked so happy that she seemed to forget her grief. The pencil however remained at that poor mother's house and only many years later did I take up drawing once again. But this incident was perhaps the germ from which I later developed the idea that by this means I could give expression to feelings.'

It would be quite simple to explain this first artistic work by a noble, pitying feeling on the part of the boy, especially as we know that as a man Segantini was particularly susceptible to such feelings. But in so doing one would miss the really notable fact regarding this incident.

Segantini was at that time at the most twelve years old. To me therefore it seems amazing that he could stay for hours alone with a corpse without feelings of fear and horror. These reactions of fear, horror, and pity, only develop gradually in the course of childhood through sublimation of the feelings of cruelty. If the latter are unusually strong, then a reaction to a particularly strong sense of pity for the sufferings of others and a fearful horror of death follows. In the case of Segantini both these feelings were peculiarly strongly marked in later life. But obviously at the time he drew the dead child the process of sublimation in this direction had made but little progress, from which one draws the conclusion that even after

his twelfth year a particularly strong component of cruelty had successfully resisted complete sublimation.

In the scene that has just been described the element of cruelty finds satisfaction in looking at the corpse of the child, and at the sight of the mother's sorrow. But his feelings of compassion are satisfied by drawing the picture to please the beautiful young mother and to alleviate her sorrow.

In relating the happening Segantini twice mentions the beauty of the young woman, in the same way as he describes his own mother. She, who stands there before him, immediately takes, in his imagination, by 'transference' the place of his own mother and awakens an artistic impulse within him. To please a mother he becomes an artist. If we now guess that our artist, like the neurotic, tries to make amends to the unknown mother for what he has failed to do, owing to his death wishes for his own mother, then it becomes a certainty in another passage of the account. Segantini states that the reason for staying for hours beside the corpse was to represent the dead child as living according to the wish of the sorrowing woman. Here was an art with which one could, as it were, call the dead back to life! Later he was to revive his mother many times with the help of his art. Therein lay, we can now understand, an act of repentance which the adult imposes upon the boy for the sins of his childhood. This behavior is extraordinarily reminiscent of the obsessional neurotic, who—of course in a different way—imposes upon himself acts of repentance.

After these first groping attempts, years passed in which Segantini under the pressure of desperate conditions was obliged to give up drawing. At last he succeeded in gaining entrance to the Brera Academy in Milan. The first pictures that he now completed out of his own imagination, so closely resembled in subject matter his earliest childish attempt at drawing, that one might believe hardly a single day had passed since that time. The pictures he painted represented either death or motherhood. Segantini, as a pupil in the Academy, first completed and exhibited a Head of Niobe. It is said to

have represented so touchingly the grief of the mother for the death of her children that the picture caused a sensation.

At this period Segantini was undergoing rapid physical and mental development. We know that this age stirs in the human being all that has lain dormant through displacement and sublimation in the second period of childhood. It is the time when the adolescent takes definite attitudes towards those to whom his inclinations of love are directed. It must now be decided whether he will remain attached to his childhood loves with his original feelings, or whether he will be able to withdraw himself from them and transfer these feelings to his contemporaries. During this period is decided also to what extent he will suppress and transform his instincts.

In Segantini we find more than ever the reassertion of the feelings of love for his mother who had long been dead. Such a fixation of the libido was bound to lead to a tremendous repression of sex, the results of which we recognize throughout Segantini's life and work. From the reports of that period of his life we hear nothing of those love affairs which common opinion expects of a young artist. On the contrary, he was bashful and shy in the presence of women. He differed from his contemporaries in being reticent and avoiding every objectionable word in his conversation. We see from this that Segantini's instinctual life was inhibited and can explain this fact only on the basis of a direct libidinal fixation to his mother.

Not until he was twenty-two years old did he experience his first love. From his earliest childhood until then he had been completely mastered by the true first love—the love for his mother. Even now it showed its power. We find in the case of Segantini a most unusual restriction as regards the choice of an object of his desires. He was not able, as young people usually are, to enter into and later to sever connections with other people; his first choice was also his last. This bent towards monogamy, which we also meet in neurotics, is expressed in quite amazing fashion in Segantini.

In his twenty-third year (in 1881) Segantini painted his first picture with an erotic subject, and it remained—with the exception of a few pastoral pictures executed in the following years—the last of its type. Through his friend, Carlo Bugatti, Segantini asked the latter's sister Beatrice to sit for him. He painted her in the costume of a noblewoman of the Middle Ages; a falcon sits on her left hand and with her right hand she is feeding the bird. The picture bears the title *La Falconiera*. Servaes correctly maintains that the picture shows at first sight that the painter was in love. And, in fact, Segantini fell in love with and shortly afterwards married his beautiful model.

His love of Beatrice—Bice as she was called by her relatives—was as ardent and unchangeable as his love for his mother. His married life bore not the slightest resemblance to the usual picture of an artist's marriage. By this I do not merely mean to say that Segantini was a good husband. To the end of his days he was passionately in love with his life's companion. The letters which he wrote to her, when from time to time they were separated, give us proof of this. They sound like the effusions of a youth. The feeling revealed in them reminds one of the occasions when he writes of his mother in his autobiography.

We find here the unusual happening, that all the love of Segantini's life is contained within the bounds of his early marriage. It is however clear that the extremely powerful instincts of the artist could be confined in this manner only if they were allowed in their sublimated form to reach out to an infinite number of persons. Just because he was so monogamic in his sex-love, his spiritual love had to be given to all men, to all nature.

Here we must pause for a moment. We are about to subject to analysis the effects of these instincts on the art and the life of the grown man. But we must not bid farewell to his youth without examining the importance in his life of his father as well as his mother.

II

In the artist's autobiography we learn very little of his father. We are informed that he left Arco with his five-year-old son after the early death of Giovanni's mother. He journeyed to Milan to his grown-up children by an earlier marriage. Then, when he found little success in Milan, he came to a sudden decision and left for America with one of the sons of his first marriage, leaving Giovanni behind with the latter's stepsister. From this moment the artist never received the slightest news of his father.

It is noticeable that though Segantini lost both parents shortly after one another, he writes about his mother at length and with devoted love, but tells us not much more about his father than the bare facts given above. And whereas he used his highest art to glorify motherhood, whereas he raises a fresh memorial to motherhood in every one of his works of art, one seeks in vain for any positive expression of the feelings which he felt for his father. If in any of his pictures one finds, in addition to a mother, a father as well, then the latter is never placed as the central figure of the picture.

It would seem almost as if his father had had no effect on his development or his work, as if he were quite indifferent to him. But Segantini's silence speaks volumes; it arises, as I shall show now, from the suppression of extremely strong feelings of enmity towards his father.

On account of the bisexual disposition of mankind, the erotic feelings of a boy are directed towards both parents. At an early age however a preference for the mother can be observed. As a direct result of this, feelings of jealousy and enmity towards the father develop. When Segantini's mother died, the grounds for his jealousy vanished and normally the whole love of the boy would have been transferred to the father. But just at this moment his father took a step which unavoidably killed all the love of the child for him, and increased the feelings of enmity: he brought this child with his rich fantasy, the needs of whose soul he noticed not at all,

from the paradise on the Garda Lake to the dreariness and misery of the city, handed him over to a stepsister who could spare neither time nor love for him, and then deserted him. Thus, the feelings of sympathy for the father were nipped in the bud, and for this reason we fail to find in young Segantini any of those substitute formations which normally arise from the sublimation of father love.

During puberty one finds normally a more or less expressed attempt to free oneself from fatherly authority, but even after this, one can see signs of this authority still remaining in the expressions of childish piety and love. The sublimation of a pronounced, positive transfer of feelings to the father affects one's whole life. It shows itself in the desire to lean on someone stronger, in the subjection of one's own will to that of another, in a timid clinging to convention. It occurs sometimes that even after puberty the son still remains in an unaltered state of childish dependence on the parents. In such cases the conservative tendency is usually particularly strong and progressive activity especially lacking.

Segantini is the exact counterpart of this type; he goes, one may say, to the other extreme. He lacks entirely the spirit of self-subjugation, the conservative tendency. He writes in one place, 'Every development, whether it be social, religious or of any other type, has for its first goal the negation of the old: nihilism, destruction'. There is no doubt that in these words Segantini is preaching revolution. He is taking revenge against the paternal power against which he must have rebelled in his earliest childhood; above all, revenge for his father's having left him in misery after the death of his mother. But Segantini was not satisfied with his negation of the existing order of things; his desire was to make a free road for the new by tearing down the old. And not only did he advocate this theoretically, but he acted in accordance with this belief long before he proclaimed it in words.

We can therefore observe in the case of Segantini a purely negative paternal influence. And just as his love for his mother is given to the whole of nature in a sublimated form,

so his hate, originally directed against his father, was turned against everything which restricted his will. Of course these aggressive instincts, directed against the life of the adversary, are made much milder through sublimation. They provide Segantini with the energy, with which he opposes and overcomes all contrary forces. From earliest childhood Segantini's life is a living protest against every authority which dares to encroach on his individuality.

In considering this increase of energy against the paternal power we must not overlook the fact that in this very energy Segantini identifies himself with his father. For the father must be the boy's ideal on account of his superior size and power, his energy and knowledge. His very rivalry with his father must strengthen the wish to equal him in all these qualities. This rivalry is an important cause of the superiority complex of the child.

The rebellion against the paternal power and the desire to become independent, self-reliant and big are to be observed in young Segantini to an extraordinary degree. This trend in his character makes it possible for us to understand his development as a man and his career as an artist.

It is intensely moving to read in the autobiography of the artist how the six-year-old boy had to spend his days locked in a small, bare room, alone from morning to night. For a time he was able to bear his lot, as long as the monotonous surroundings were still able to excite his interest and quicken his fancy. And then, 'One morning, as I was looking dully out of my window, I heard the gabble of some women of the neighborhood. They were gossiping about somebody who set out from Milan as a young man on foot, reached France, and did great things there. . . . This was a revelation to me. Then it was possible to leave this attic and wander far away! . . . I knew the road—my father had shown it to me when we were walking through the palace square. "Through that arch there", he said, "the victorious troops of France and Piedmont marched in. Napoleon I had the triumphal arch and the road built; they say that the road goes right through

the mountains straight to France." And the idea of getting to France by this road never left me.'

The women's words reminded the boy of an impressive story of his father, which itself had been about France and a man's great deeds. At once the childish desire to be great was awakened; but his impatient nature demanded immediate action. The six-year-old boy ran away, procured a piece of bread, went through the triumphal arch and took the road of the great Napoleon.

Not long before that, his father also had left Milan one day without saying much about it. The little boy emulates him. But he is not satisfied with the fantasy of other boys, of doing what his father did; he wants to become like that man whose greatness compelled even his father to admire him.

The rest of the artist's childhood story, as he relates it himself, is rich in remarkable vicissitudes—so rich that doubts arise in us as to whether all these things really happened thus. Is it not possible that the profuse imagination of the child and of the adult has, if not invented, yet so altered many facts that his own critical faculty was afterwards no longer able to separate them from the things he had really experienced?

The justification for such an assumption follows from the knowledge of certain fantasies which are produced by so many individuals in a surprisingly uniform manner, so that we recognize in them something typical, something that is common to all mankind. The same ideas are to be found in group fantasies, that is to say, in the myths of the most diverse peoples and ages. I have already proved in my work *Dreams and Myths*⁶ that the myths show, in form and content, a far-reaching conformity with the childhood fantasies of individual human beings. In a special research Rank has dealt with the *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*.⁷ Every people endows the birth and childhood of its hero with miraculous events, which

⁶ Abraham, Karl: *Dreams and Myths. A Study in Race Psychology*. N.M.D.M.S., No. 15. New York and Washington: Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Publ. Co., 1913.

⁷ Rank, Otto: *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*. N.M.D.M.S., No. 18. New York and Washington: Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Publ. Co., 1914.

agree entirely with the childhood fantasies of the individual. Segantini's story of his childhood, as he describes it, reminds one strikingly of these legends of heroes.

The legends of Moses, Sargon, Cyrus, Romulus and Remus, etc., all agree in the statement that the son of noble parents is, for some reason, to be done away with. But he is saved in some miraculous way, such as being pulled out of the water or being found by chance by some stranger of low degree, is brought up as their son and has to do some lowly work. Even in his youth playing with children of his own age, he shows exceptional qualities, which distinguish him from his surroundings and show him to be born to do higher things. Having grown up, he discovers the secret of his origin, takes revenge on his oppressors, does heroic deeds and at last rises to the honors that are due to him.

Now let us continue reading Segantini's account of his childhood: The boy ran on along the highway until, at nightfall, he sank down at the side of the road tired out, and fell asleep. He did not notice that a shower of rain wetted him through. He woke up when some peasants, who were passing by, shook him. They took care of him, lifted him on their cart and carried him home with them. On the way there he fell asleep again and only awoke in the house of his rescuers. After having been given dry clothes and warmed, he was asked about his history. Here the autobiography says, 'I remember telling a long story with many details about an accident that had once happened to me, and which had made a deep impression on me. One day—I was perhaps three or four years old—I was crossing a narrow little wooden bridge, which led from the road to a dyer's workshop across a dammed-up mountain river, which drove many mills with its power.' Segantini continues that on the bridge he met a bigger boy who inadvertently knocked him over into the water. A soldier had jumped after him and rescued him, as he was just about to be drawn into the mill-race.

The conclusion of the tale follows. When the peasants heard that little Segantini had no mind to return to his sister,

they said: "We shall keep you with us, you poor orphan; you need sun. But we are not rich, and so, if you want to stay here and accustom yourself to our life, you must make yourself useful in some way!" On the following day the peasant's wife cut off my long hair, which hung in a curly, luxuriant mass down to my shoulders. A woman who stood watching, said, "Seen in profile he looks like a son of the King of France". . . . On that day I became a swineherd. I was not even seven years old!

The boy was permitted to remain only a few weeks in his new surroundings, where he was far better cared for than at his sister's in Milan. Just this short episode is described by Segantini with great exactness and with a loving care as to details. In this tale we again find all the important features of the birth of the hero, as in the myth. There is the separation from the parental home, followed by the miraculous rescue by compassionate peasants who desire to bring up the boy. In relating this story, Segantini interpolates a second rescue story: he had been rescued from drowning when he was three years old. For his foster parents he has to do the lowly work of a swineherd, like so many other legendary heroes. He, whose appearance reminds one of a royal prince!

In this childhood story of the artist, it is not possible to distinguish clearly between fact and fiction. But whoever knows to what degree the experiences of childhood are subject to the transforming power of the imagination will not mistake the signs of this activity. I refer to one passage only. Segantini remembers having heard, when six years old, the remark that he looked like a son of the King of France. It is in itself not exactly probable that he remembered the wording of a remark made at that time. But in substance it is identical with that of the typical imaginative ideas of the boy. His father, the symbol of all power and greatness, is elevated in the child's imagination to the rank of king or emperor; this repeats itself in the dreams of the adult, in which his father often appears as a king. Hostile feelings towards his father express themselves in the boy by dethroning his father

in his imagination, by making himself the son of an imaginary king, and by placing his actual father in the part of a foster father. Being a prince is one of the most usual figments of the childish imagination. It is very probable that little Segantini interwove these figments with his knowledge of kings into an idea, which owing to its wishful character, then attained in his memory the importance of a real occurrence.

The whole touching story of Segantini's childhood resembles an individual myth. People of strong ambitions are in the habit of surrounding their childhood with such mythical creations. From the fact that these are so strikingly identical with the legends of the birth of the hero, it can be seen how Segantini derives his ideas from the depths of the human soul.

As already indicated, Segantini had to leave his sanctuary after a short time and return to his sister. There is scanty information about the following years. We only know that Segantini was knocked around at the houses of his step-brothers and sisters. For a time he was lodged with a step-brother, who carried on a sausage business in Val Sugana; then he was housed at his sister's again, who had meanwhile married an innkeeper. In such surroundings the boy was forced to live. To be sure, in his imagination he was sojourn in distant places and several times he really ran away, with the firm conviction that he would meet his fortune as in a fairy-tale. But when at last nobody felt capable of managing such a runaway and good-for-nothing, he was got rid of by being sent to a house of correction in Milan. There he was put to mending shoes.

But even the discipline of this institution was unable to break the will of the twelve-year-old boy. He resisted spiritual authority as he did any other. When he was supposed to go to communion for the first time, he refused stubbornly to do so. He suffered a sentence of arrest as punishment for this and then ran away. He was caught and taken back, and he remained in the institution until he was fifteen years old. His superiors had to accommodate their methods of education to suit his nature. In this way they were able to get on

better with him. Eventually he succeeded in having his long cherished wish carried out, and was apprenticed to a master painter.

The fifteen-year-old apprentice now stood face to face with another authority, who is described as a worthy man, but who thought rather too much of his humble art. He was as little able as his predecessors to force his views on his self-assured pupil.

So Segantini did not stay there too long. With energetic decision he parted from his master, entered the Brera Art School and tried, with great difficulty, to earn his living. In all sorts of ways he procured a scanty living, which was often not sufficient to satisfy his hunger.

Owing to his superior talents and his strong personality he quickly acquired the esteem of his colleagues. He soon became the leader of those among the art students who were in revolt against tradition and the school. As such he aroused the displeasure of the teachers. After the young revolutionary's first success at the Milan Exhibition, he was allotted next time a very unfavorable position for the picture exhibited by him. At this Segantini's whole impulsiveness broke through. There was a scene, of which Servaes records⁸ 'He went there, dragged his work down and tore it to pieces. And not satisfied with that, on meeting the professor, whom he regarded as the prime mover in the wrong done to him, he took him violently to task about it in the street, and he found it so difficult to restrain his temper that he got hold of a lamp post and shook it so long and so violently that the glass broke.'

Segantini could no longer remain there, and the twenty-year-old artist, who would tolerate no authority, took a bold step to independence. Continually struggling with extreme material distress, he pursued his way with inflexible energy. He has summed up his youth with eloquent words: 'My body, into which fate put my soul, had to struggle greatly. It was deserted and an orphan at six years of age, alone without love,

⁸ Servaes, Franz: *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

far from all comforts, like a wild animal. Under such circumstances I could only grow up wild, and faced with the existing laws, I was always filled with disquiet and rebellion.'

Perhaps the strongest expression of his aversion to any form of subordination was an incident which Servaes has passed over with indulgent silence. Segantini, who was an Austrian subject, evaded his military service. That the possible results of this step were not able to prevent him taking it, shows how much he was governed by his urge for independence. It was his punishment that, for a long time, he was not allowed to return to his native land. He suffered greatly from this punishment. When he died, he had almost attained the fulfilment of his heart's desire, of seeing his beloved native country again.

This action seems incompatible with the character of a man like Segantini, who was ethically so sensitive. It becomes understandable to us in the analysis of his unconscious. In his native soil he loved his mother; but in the executive power of his country he hated his father.

III

In Segantini's world of ideals—and not less so in his emotions—his mother, his birthplace, and nature form an indissoluble unity. Owing to their inner affinity they blend, as we are in the habit of expressing it, into a 'complex'.

The unusual power of this complex is explained by the history of Segantini's childhood. When he lost his mother, he also had to leave his birthplace and nature. At a blow he was robbed of his most valued and dearest possessions; in his memory they therefore remain inseparably united.

His father took him away from the surroundings that he loved; the city, in which he remained lonely, was not able to give anything to the boy's mind. There he turned against his father and against the city. Because they had deprived him of love, he turned away from them both forever. The extravagance of his love for his mother, birthplace and nature was bound to be still more increased by this contrast.

In the most miserable period that he went through as a youth, Segantini made use of every free moment to escape to nature, which, according to the testimony of his friends, he loved with a fanatical devotion. When he had succeeded in finding in Bice a substitute for his mother, he could no longer bear to be in Milan. He was drawn back to nature; he had also to seek a substitute for the native land he had lost so early. He went with his young wife to Pusiano in Brianza, the district between the two southern arms of Lake Como. There he became the painter of these simple rural surroundings.

At that time Segantini was still far from the zenith of his art. As Servaes aptly remarks it was a limited sphere in which his art moved. He painted pictures of village life that were not free from a *genre*-like appearance; some of them betrayed the fact that he had not yet become quite emancipated from the influence of the school. He approached closest to the quality of his later works when he reproduced the community of man and animal. All these scenes contained little movement; there are dreaming shepherds, a shepherdess quietly praying her Ave Maria, a mother bending sadly over an empty cradle. And all these pictures are kept in dark tones. At that time Segantini was painting the faint light of interiors; the half-light of the moonlight night, the gloomy thunder sky, and with special preference the dim light of sunset.

In his works of that period there is frequently a certain note of feeling peculiar to them. Man takes care of animals with kindness and compassion. Full of motherly tenderness the shepherdess holds the new-born lamb in her arms, in the little picture *Uno di piu*; the shepherd in the painting *The Sheep-shearing* bends lovingly over the animal whose wool he is taking.

To this period belongs in its first form a creation the subject of which the artist took up again later and brought to completion: *Ave Maria a Trasbordo*. A languid peace lies over this picture. The man in the boat has rested his oar, the woman with the child in her arms seems to be deep in

slumber. The herd of sheep that fills the boat throngs to the side away from the observer, but the backs of the animals form a surface that moves only a little. Over the whole lies the illumination of the sunset, the peace of evening.

This picture unites all the characteristic features of the Brianza period; perhaps it is the best work of that period—a complete Segantini. A change now took place in the artist. He ceased disregarding the purely technical side of painting and regarding the substance of the sentiments as the only essential thing in a work of art. Referring to this period, Servaes speaks of an unconstrained production—beyond control, as it were. His productivity was great. He yielded himself to a great extent to the necessity of giving his emotions (*sentimenti*) an artistic expression.

In his autobiographical notes Segantini says: 'Nature had become for me, as it were, an instrument that gave off notes accompanying all that my heart related. It sang of quiet harmonies of sunsets and the innermost essence of nature. Thus my spirit was nourished by a great melancholy, which resounded in my soul in infinite sweetness.'

We must lay stress upon two phenomena of Segantini's spiritual life in that period: his inclination to melancholy, and a sympathetic love, a compassionate goodness towards his fellow creatures. In both these respects he later underwent a remarkable change.

We remember having heard that during the artist's puberty his sexual desires were subject to far-reaching inhibitions. Now if—as has been stated—the masculine active components of a man's desires are restricted to a large degree, then usually an intensification of the opposite components results. A strain of passivity is carried into the whole spiritual life of the person, which in more senses than one reminds one of the psychosexual attitude of a woman. Resignation to suffering is preferred to energetic aggression. In this way the melancholic depressions which are so frequent with neurotics (not always consciously, of course) include a hidden pleasure in the suffering. Segantini speaks of 'sweet melancholy' not as an

evil, but as a rich spring of artistic inspiration. In the pictures of this period the strain of passivity, of melancholy, finds a symbolic expression in solemn peace and soft illumination. The sunsets which Segantini so often reproduced at that time have an atmosphere of death about them, which belongs at the same time to that kind of melancholic depression, and to the center of all his imaginative ideas: his mother. 'She was as beautiful as a sunset in spring', he wrote later of her. Fantasies of death which were once directed towards his mother, and that later he applied to himself, were sublimated in his works of this period.

His sympathetic love of nature, his suffering with all creatures, had been caused by the suppression of his aggressive and emotional desires, so at that time his own suffering and compassion formed the object of his sublimated desires. Then came a great change in the spiritual life of the artist. Languid melancholy ceased to be the predominating mood, giving way to an enthusiastic delight in creating works of art. It is true that later, and especially in the latter part of his life, his gloomy moods often got the upper hand again.

We know this process very well from neurotics. It is usual with those whose puberty is accompanied by a wave of repression which far exceeds the normal, whereby the psychosexuality of the neurotic man approaches the feminine type to a remarkable extent. Also in the case of neurotics we find, commencing with the beginning of maturity and lasting often until the thirties or even later, a tendency towards melancholy and a passive surrender to their sorrows. Only slowly do they overcome this phase and rise to a definite affirmation of life, and to normal, often to exaggerated attainments.

Segantini luckily succeeded in transforming his aggressive instincts into a tremendous desire for work, instead of paralyzing them with just the opposite effect through reaction as he had done until now. Manly activity became his mastering principle, and his opinion of nature and the character of his art changed also. First of all he moved for a short time from Brianza to Caglio, high over Lake Como. There he created his first large painting *Alla Stanga* (At the fence), a broad

landscape in the light of the late afternoon. Placed in it, partly in the foreground, partly further away, are groups of cows at the fence and in between are people working at agricultural tasks. It was not a *genre* picture of the pastoral type; it was a bold attempt to encompass the whole of nature by art.

Soon after this Segantini left with his wife to find a permanent place to live in the Upper Alps. After several trips of exploration he chose the village of Savognin in the Graubünden Alps (1886). This virgin spot of earth seemed to him to correspond most nearly to his feelings for nature. The quiet mountain village scarcely known by name in the great world outside became a new home to him. Here, with his wife and children, he lived the life of a mountain dweller.

This journey upwards from the Lower Alps of Brianza to the High Alps of Savognin is a milestone in Segantini's development. In the first place it was the mountains which drew him to the heights, those mountains which were now as near to him in his new home as they had been in the old home of his childhood. He desired—as he puts it in one of his letters—to obtain an absolute knowledge of nature. The clearness of the air, the purity of the sunlight, the brilliance of the colors, all this was a tremendous attraction to the artistic eye. But above all his rise to the heights was for the lonely creator a symbol of the urge upwards, the urge for perfection, his continual longing to outgrow his old self, his desire as an artist to conquer all nature and to rule over it like a king. 'In that country', he says in the autobiography, 'I could look boldly at the sun, whose beams I loved and which I was determined to conquer.'

The work of the following years was anything but an 'unconstrained self-expression'. It was a harnessing of all those powers in which his sublimated impulses of aggression found their expression. According to his own statement, Segantini was in the grip of an inspiration which allowed him to feel neither labor nor fatigue. Everything in him drove him to one end only, to that work of art which he called 'the spirit becoming flesh in material life'—an act of creation.

What a difference in the point of view! This being, who

for years had denied life in heavy melancholy, now considered himself in his bold thoughts as a creator, as master of nature. He found the way back to himself by returning once again to the dreams of greatness of his childhood.

The calm, pitying love of nature had been transformed into a hot desire, an overpowering wish for mastery. In fiery words, of which we give an extract here, Segantini describes this love: 'I am a passionate lover of nature. On a fine sunny day in these mountains that have become my home . . . I feel full of infinite joy; my blood rushes through my veins as it did in the first love of my youth, when standing before the adored girl. . . . I am intoxicated with this love that never satisfies, I bend to the earth and kiss the blades of grass, the flowers. . . . I thirst, O Earth, and bending down to your purest and eternal springs I drink, I drink of your blood, O Earth, which is the blood of my blood.'

In the language of science we shall translate these thoughts thus: The sight of nature intoxicates the senses of the artist, which he himself compares with sexual excitement. His sublimated desires fervently demand direct satisfaction; they are fixed on no less an object than the whole of nature. His love for that mother who was 'blood of his blood' celebrates its resurrection in his ardent love for motherly nature.

Several works which count among his best efforts were produced in this first year at Savognin.⁹ Some of these contain subjects which he had already used during the Brianza period, but just these pictures show best of all the growth of his ability. The best example of this is his *Ave Maria a Trasbordo*. With the hand of a genius Segantini slightly altered the positions of the figures in the picture and used a different lighting effect. Above all he made his first experiment with a new technique, the disintegration of colors, which we shall discuss later. That enchanting picture, *Girl Knitting on a Fence*, falls in the same period. When he had used this subject for the first time in

⁹ The following remarks coincide very closely with Servaes' presentation. *Op. cit.*

Brianza he could achieve only a dismal twilight lighting, but now everything was flooded in brilliant sunlight.

Throughout all this period of revolution there was one fixed point in Segantini's art—the mother complex. The thoughts and feelings which arose from it seemed to be subject to no change or alteration. The following incident, very characteristic of Segantini, shows this well. He could not permit the young peasant girl, whom he had painted as *The Knitting Girl* to go away. 'Baba', as she was called, had to move into his home. In all the years that followed she remained his only model, and at the same time a faithful companion to him and his family. He had found in her the type which he required for his pictures of motherhood and labor. Here he needed no change, and so he always retained the same model.

In the period which followed he embodied this idea of motherhood in a work of art of rapturous power: *The Two Mothers*. A farm girl is sitting on a stool in a cowshed holding her sleeping child in both arms, her own head drooping drowsily. Close to her stands the powerful body of a cow, at the feet of which a young calf lies. A hanging lamp throws a subdued, reddish light on the mother and child and on the rear half of the cow's body; elsewhere there is a feeble twilight. An awe-inspiring peace lies over the whole scene. One has to agree with the remark of Servaes, that by means of this very peacefulness common to all the figures of the picture, the artist accentuates the complete identity of the two mothers. This effect is strengthened by an ancient and simple method, that is, by the composition. Servaes observes, 'The cow stands straight-backed and sinks its head peacefully into the manger. And where the sweep of the cow's back ceases, the head of the young mother appears, and her back takes up the harsh horizontal line and leads it softly downwards. Close to this the picture ends, so that one sees clearly (yet at the same time only vaguely realizes) how the bounding line of the painting runs parallel to the cow's back. The discrete solemnity of this arrangement is transformed in the eye of

the beholder almost unconsciously to a sentimental value. Thus with his gentle touch the artist guides our souls.'

Finally, in the year 1890, after unceasing effort, Segantini was successful in bringing his technique of the disintegration of colors to the desired pitch. That magnificent picture, *The Ploughers* (called *The Furrow* in his earlier copy), was the first perfect fruit of this labor. He had succeeded in reproducing the transparent clearness of the air and the vibration of the colors in those heights as no one had succeeded in doing before and which nobody has attained since. In a marvelously plastic manner he placed human figures and their faithful companions, domestic animals, in the foreground of the picture. With the love which only he possessed he executed all the details of the landscape. The extended chain of the Alps stretches out in an eternal alternation of snow and rock. Above all is the quivering blue of the brilliantly clear sky.

Segantini succeeded in perfecting this technique of disintegration of colors entirely through his own efforts. Everywhere artists were engaged with this problem. In a multiplicity of ways its solution was attempted. But independent of all these experiments Segantini calmly and surely went on his way, until finally he reached his goal. It was not alone his superior artistic talents that showed him the way. The yearning for light and color lay deeply hidden in his soul. His eye thirsted for them and compelled him, following an inner urge, to direct his highest striving to a true representation of both. Even in his earliest works as an art student he had set himself a problem regarding the shades of light in paintings and had solved it himself. It is true that later, in his melancholy periods, he had gone over entirely to painting pictures in dark shades. When he then moved to the mountains, drawn to them as it were, he wished to master nature, and his victorious mood found expression there in the radiant sunlight, which displays its full glory at those heights.

We have already learned from Segantini's own words what feelings the sight of all this splendor excited in him. He

regarded nature with the eyes of a lover; it transported him into a state of blissful ecstasy. There is, therefore, no need of proof to show that here is a far-reaching sublimation of those components of sexuality which are satisfied by looking or peeping. This desire serves to stimulate the libido by looking at the physical qualities of the sexual object, which we are in the habit of calling simply its 'charms'. The sublimation of the desire to look contributes a large share to that form of sexual suppression which we call the sense of shame; it is moreover capable in a high degree of an artistic-aesthetic sublimation.

Segantini's desire to look was, in spite of its eminent strength, turned away from the frankly sexual to a remarkable degree. It is only very exceptionally that we find a nude figure in one of his pictures. In a picture of the later period, *The Source of Evil*, a nude feminine figure is reflected in the water to represent vanity allegorically. Here, in painting the nude, the artist is pursuing an ethical aim! He wraps the pagan goddess of sensuality, the *Dea Pagana*, in a transparent veil. Significantly enough, these two works do not belong to the master's most vigorous paintings. An entirely different fervor animates the *Dea Christiana*, a kind mother with a child. Into this picture, one observes, he was able to breathe the whole strength of his feelings. Gross sensuality is entirely absent from all Segantini's works of art. Whenever he paints erotic scenes, he presents them delicately, tenderly, and chastely.

He turned his sublimated desire for looking to nature. Light and color were sources of ecstatic joy to him. Segantini relates of his childhood that the sight of a painter working with brushes and paints filled him with a burning curiosity. As if under a spell the boy watched the inartistic daubing of the artisan. In the patches of paint he discovered fantastic animal and human figures; these forms appeared and disappeared with variegated changes from one into the other. Further descriptions of his childhood show with what eagerness he absorbed and retained optical impressions. The extreme

visual animation of his representations is remarkable; every scene of the autobiography has the effect of a painting. Segantini was not only a loving observer of nature; whatever his eye absorbed in form and color, his artistic imagination formed into a homogeneous whole.

He himself never lost the feeling that in this activity of observing and creating art, he was living out his eroticism. Expressing his thoughts once, as to why he never made a sketch before starting a painting, he wrote: 'A painter who first executes a sketch is like a young man, who, because he is delighted at the sight of a beautiful woman, wants to possess her on the spot, who desires to revel in her embraces, cover her lips and eyes with kisses and quiver with the bliss of her embrace. Well, there he has his sketch. . . . On the other hand, it appeals to me to allow love to ripen and to caress my ideas in my mind, to cherish them in my heart; although half mad with desire to see them take form, I keep myself in subjection and am satisfied in preparing a good home for them; meanwhile I continue to regard them with my mind's eye, with this illumination, and that position—from different points of view.'

On the other hand, it is very significant that the painter, although disdaining preparatory sketches, often returned to the theme of a completed painting to give it some variation, in an attempt to stress a new aspect of it. This complex, which influenced the direction of his work, dominated him to such an extent that he always had the feeling of not yet having expressed every most delicate emotion of his soul.

IV

With the whole strength of his desire, Segantini had gained a mastery of light and color. Sad moods then began to mix with his joy of victory, similar in character to those which had seized him so often in Brianza. The inner reasons for these repeated sudden changes are not to be discerned with certainty. Nevertheless, on the strength of one's general experience one may express some conjectures.

Vacillation between two extremes of mood is understandable

from our knowledge of the working of the inner strivings of the neurotic. The conflicting desires can arrive at no harmonious adjustment. If one desire gains conscious mastery in the mind, then the opposing desire which has been pushed back into the unconscious gives no peace. Disguised as neurotic substitutive formation it regains access to consciousness. If, for example, masculine activity has the upper hand, and is about to enforce itself with the impulsiveness peculiar to neurotics, at the same moment there exists for the suppressed opposite the impulse to make itself felt in the conscious mind. Melancholy mixes with feelings of triumph.

With Segantini another cause must be added. By exerting all his energy he had educated his artistic technique to perfection, had wrested the secrets of color and light from nature. On reaching the desired goal, the tension suddenly relaxed. The sublimated instincts which had made possible such a performance, were suddenly left without a goal. They demanded a new goal, new expansion, for through their earlier success they had grown more arrogant. If such a demand cannot immediately be satisfied, one becomes depressed. One feels impoverished—poorer in hopes, and the joy of victory gives way to melancholy discouragement.

The Gloomy Hour is the title of the first picture which Segantini painted in such a humor. It presents a sharp contrast to those that preceded it. Here one finds again the twilight. 'On a stony field a young farm girl sits in the evening light, shivering, sunk in gloomy thoughts, while in front of her a small smoking cauldron hangs above a smoldering red fire. Opposite her stands a piebald cow, lowing with extended neck.' (Servaes) The tone of the picture is despairing solitude. But by means of his directional lines the artist has molded the human being, the animal, and the landscape into a close union with one another with a masterly hand. One seems to feel some consolation in the picture after all. So long as he feels one with nature, man is never deserted: that was the creed of the artist who knew nothing of a personal, paternally solicitous God.

Not long after he had completed this picture Segantini felt

drawn to solitude. Now it could be seen how that picture was indebted to the innermost feelings of the artist. He found the solitude which suited his humor, far above Savognin in the little village of Tusagn. There he lived in a small hut during the summer of 1893. He was surrounded by rich Alpine vegetation and he could have reveled in light and color; instead he spent hours even nearer to the peaks on the higher slopes, where there was no luxuriant grass, no flowers. He painted this wilderness with a little flock of grazing sheep: 'A sorrowful shepherd sits there, almost still a boy, and yet weary and tired like an old man. His face, burnt red by the sun, has sunk forward in a doze; his hands droop limply and idly on his thighs. The scenery becomes ever grayer and blacker as it recedes to the heights.' (Servaes) This picture bears the title *Alpine Pasture*. Every stroke in it reminds us of the *Brianza* period. In the woeful loneliness of the *Alpine Pasture* Segantini finds but one consolation. There, where nature gives her creatures scarcely a few dry blades of grass, motherhood is revealed in all its greatness. He places in the foreground of the picture a sheep suckling its two lambs. Mother love—so this symbol tells us—is the surest refuge in loneliness both for man and beast.

In the years 1890–1893 he produced a series of pictures, which have received the name of the 'Nirvana Pictures'. Again, as he so often did, Segantini illustrated the same idea with several variations. The first of the series entitled *The Hell of the Voluptuaries*, now in the Liverpool Museum, and the last called *The Wicked Mothers*, now in the Modern Gallery at Vienna, belong, artistically considered, to the greatest works of the artist. But from the point of view of their contents *The Hell of the Voluptuaries* encountered particularly great opposition. For this picture was not understood, and in spite of all attempts it was not found possible to give a complete explanation for it. This took place at a time when Segantini's art had long been valued at its true importance. A picture which had to be explained?—that had never happened to him before. His earlier works, the pictures of

mother love for example, spoke a clear and simple language to the hearts of all men. The puzzle of these pictures has even today not been completely solved. Will it be possible for the psychoanalyst to unveil the secret?

We know that Segantini obtained the idea for *The Hell of the Voluptuaries* from Buddhistic mythology. It was there that he found the doctrine that women who give up their lives to sensuality instead of undertaking the duties of motherhood, are condemned after their deaths to float restlessly on desolate fields of snow. He painted therefore an extended snowfield, on which the eye can scarcely come to rest, with a dark chain of mountains in the foreground, and a brilliantly white chain of mountains in the background. Over this desolate surface float ghostly motionless female forms resembling corpses.

The later version of *The Wicked Mothers* shows in the foreground a floating female form, whose hair has got entangled in the low branch of a tree: 'The whole curvature of her body is like a wailing lamentation, her extended arms a helpless despair, the loosely trailing hair caught in the tree like the agony of a suicide, and the face, pale as death, with the drawn mouth and the sunken eyes, like the racking pains of remorse. But the sight of the questing, thirsty head of the child, bent over the naked, cold breast of its mother, that breast which was dried up from lack of affection, has a tremendous effect on the observer.' (Servaes) In this execution the figure of the child has been added, and instead of several female forms there is but one. In the distance a row of other penitents can be seen swaying above the snow.

The loveless mother and the abandoned child in this picture are, as Servaes points out, in direct contrast to the mother sheep and the lambs in the *Alpine Pasture*. The latter picture and *The Wicked Mothers* were both produced in Tusagn. As Segantini later wrote, he wished to punish bad mothers with the *Hell of the Voluptuaries* because in his opinion their lives were a crime against the highest principle of nature. We cannot doubt that this was in his mind all the time he was

at work on the picture. But at the same time we can assert that he overlooked entirely the essential and real motives which led him to execute the work.

In every product of the human imagination, both normal and abnormal, there is—as Freud has shown—a manifest content to be distinguished from a latent content. Consciousness knows only the first. The latent content is unconscious and yet it is the really important content of any creation of the imagination. Without it, the manifest content is usually not understandable. With the aid of psychoanalysis one can get to the latent sources of creations of the imagination; it exposes suppressed inclinations of the desires, which are allowed access to consciousness only when they have been made unrecognizable by far-reaching distortions. The mystic imaginative works of Segantini have not been completely understood to this very day because only their manifest content has been grasped. Psychoanalysis has the task of investigating the repressed desires, which have found their expression in symbols that are difficult to interpret.

They must have been deeply repressed stirrings of the desires, extremely objectionable to the conscious mind—otherwise Segantini would have reproduced them plainly and concisely as was always his way. He could also have attained his aim of punishing the bad mothers, without disguise; in point of fact, better, for, being as incomprehensible as they are, the pictures fail in their aim of speaking impressively to the hearts of such women.

Segantini, as we have already learned, had repressed the elements of cruelty in his instinctual life with a great intensity. His aggressive, cruel emotions towards his mother were the ones that first experienced transformation. In all his works he had appeared as gentle, kind, and compassionate. Now he was representing cruel punishments of the beyond and those who were being punished were mothers. Here are the former hostile feelings, the wishes of the child for the death of its own mother, which we see returning from repression. The Hell of the Voluptuaries shows several figures gliding past in

the air, and the observer does not get the impression that the painter wished to emphasize any special one among them. But the later version is very different. There he directs our gaze exclusively to one penitent in her cheerless solitude and to the deserted child. Had not Segantini himself been deserted like this? His loneliness after the death of his mother had aroused the first agonies of fear in him. Behind the desire to punish the wicked mothers in general, now appears the unconscious desire to punish his own mother, of revenging himself on her.

All the fear and melancholy which Segantini had suffered in the feeling of being deserted, he projects on to the penitent mother. The Buddhist legend, which sentences wicked mothers to the agonies of loneliness, had aroused similar impulses in his soul. No other punishment could have made those mothers feel as clearly as this one, what a deserted child has to suffer.

The boy, who is attached to his mother with the whole passion of childish eroticism and jealously watches all her movements, feels himself deserted by her, if she leaves him only for a short time. He is attacked by fear, by jealousy towards his rivals, and by hostile thoughts against his mother. She may give him as much love as she can; she remains for him a bad mother because she never gives him enough. The unconscious of the adult neurotic demands—as is taught by psychoanalysis—that he take revenge on his mother, because she once gave more love to his father than to him. In certain neurotic symptoms the son wreaks vengeance on his mother for this offense. Segantini's *Hell of the Voluptuaries* serves for his revenge on his own mother.

It is not difficult to understand why heartless mothers are removed to desolate snowfields as a punishment for the coldness of their hearts. But the reason why, according to the Buddhist myth, the wicked mothers glide over the snowfields will need explanation. An obvious explanation is that the gliding women are sentenced to the agony of a permanent restlessness; the endlessly monotonous movement over the

desolate surface is intended to increase the impression of eternal punishment.

But the myth could have also expressed this with other symbols, such as an endless wandering over desert sands. The exact analysis of a myth, like that of any other creation of the imagination, teaches us the strictly causal limitation of every symbol. Segantini must also have had a special reason for taking over that notion from the myth; otherwise his creative imagination did not need such borrowing. Therefore we must look for a deeper connection between the guilt of the mothers and the form of their punishment.

One of our artist's works, which was created in the same period as the Nirvana pictures gives us the key to the solution of this problem. It is the already mentioned *Dea Pagana*. Segantini has represented the goddess of sensual love gliding in the air. With her head comfortably resting on her arm, she seems to be enjoying the sweet pleasure of gently floating along, while the madonna-like *Dea Christiana* is sitting quietly, absorbed in happy contemplation of her child.

In the first place, we face the surprising fact that the same movement represents extreme pleasure in one of the artist's pictures, and in the other, extreme agony. But this paradox is one that is comprehensible to the psychoanalyst, one with which he is well acquainted. He knows that in dreams, floating in the air is sometimes experienced as an extremely pleasurable feeling, and sometimes as a fearful experience.

Many people can plainly remember having felt their first sensual sensations in their childhood when gliding through the air. This happens in swinging, jumping down from a high spot, and in many other movements while a child is at play. These are manifestations of childish autoeroticism, that is to say, feelings of pleasure produced by stimulations of the body without the participation of a second person, as is the case in the normal sexual activity of the adult. Many children are insatiable of such activity. A feeling of anxious tension is often associated with the pleasure. Freud's researches have

taught us that this fear originates from the repression of desires.

The dream offers a place of refuge to the repressed inclinations of the desires. At the period, when autoeroticism has already been subjected to a far-reaching restriction, dreams occur to most, perhaps even to every adult, in which the dreamer flies through the air, falls into a deep place, or makes some like movement. The tone of the feelings in these dreams varies—according to the degree of repression—between pleasure and fear, or it is a mixture of both. Here we see the highest delight changing immediately into extreme distress.

The symbols of the dream are the symbols from the unconscious, and therefore are common to all creations of the imagination—the work of an artist as well as the myth of a people. The symbolic meaning of gliding is now understandable in Segantini. The *Dea Pagana* abandons herself unrestrainedly to the sweet joy of gliding in the air. The wicked mothers have acted in accordance with the example of this pagan goddess, instead of emulating the ideal of motherhood of the *Dea Christiana*. We know that Segantini unconsciously reproached his mother with this. He cries to her, as it were, 'You were attached to father with sensual love, but to me you gave nothing!' He satisfies his repressed desires for revenge in the cruel fantasy which forms the basis of the picture. The extreme of sensual pleasure represented by the gliding becomes for the mothers (his mother) the most terrible agony which they must suffer after death in the hell of the voluptuaries. For them it is a punishment of unceasing torment. The few seconds in a dream, in which we believe ourselves to be falling into space, seem to us like an eternity!

During the period in which he painted these mystic symbolical pictures, it was very noticeable that Segantini was turning his glances inwardly. His flight to solitude itself proves a tendency to withdraw from the outer world. His art became visionary, fantastic. But the more a man turns away from reality, the more he puts the imaginative realization of his repressed desires in the place of actuality, the less are others

able to understand him. His expressions are unable to strike the same chord in us that he himself felt. Just this happened with Segantini.

The person who does not express his thoughts freely, and yet may not wish to conceal them entirely, communicates them by symbols. Symbols indicate things and disguise them at the same time; now one tendency predominates and now another. The mysterious language of the Nirvana pictures reveals that Segantini's deepest complexes demanded a means of expressing themselves, that the artist yielded to this desire, but that eventually the power of repression was strong enough to disguise the innermost meaning of the work.

Segantini allowed the first of these pictures, the Hell of the Voluptuaries, to go out into the world without troubling whether it would be understood or not. This alone shows us how much he was at that time estranged from reality, and was adjusted only to his own complexes. More remarkable still, in this respect, is the fact that in representing the figures of the gliding women, Segantini violated reality, that is to say, the laws of nature. As Servaes remarks, he has painted 'the voluptuaries apparently lying in the air, almost as if they were on a cushioned bed, which one cannot see; and for ghostly figures he has painted them too full-bodied, too corporeal'. He who had hitherto appreciated the advice and criticism of his friend Vittore Grubicy, this time flew into a violent passion at the expression of his opinion, and even later could never quite forget it.

Restricting oneself to a certain complex of ideas and an estrangement from reality always result in an increased irritability. We may observe this every day in normal persons, but especially in neurotics. For Segantini his irritability resulted in a memorable event.

He exhibited the Hell of the Voluptuaries in Berlin in 1891. Without question the picture was of outstanding artistic merit in spite of the objections that could be, quite rightly, raised against the subject. The jury did not award it the highest honor, but adjudged Segantini worthy of 'honorable men-

tion', which he rightly regarded as an injustice. At any other time he would probably have made light of it, smiling or shrugging his shoulders. This work however had a special meaning for him; whoever attacked it, touched Segantini's most sensitive spot. The whole impulsiveness of his nature was unleashed when he gave his answer to the judges. He tells about it himself in a letter to Vittore Grubicy, which is so characteristic that it is given here.

Savognin, August 5th, 1891.

DEAR VITTORE,

I have received your card and thank you greatly for it. I did not hesitate a second in declining to accept the 'honorable mention'. At the same moment that I received the news, it was on the 29th, I sent this telegram to Berlin:

'Berlin—To the Chairman and the Jury of the International Exhibition:

'In no exhibition in the world in which I have exhibited from the beginning of my career till now has there ever been a commission which thought it necessary to insult me, except this Berlin Jury. I ask you for a single favor, efface my name publicly from the list of your prize-winners.

Giovanni Segantini'

N.B. I sent this telegram with the reply paid, but these . . . did not even think it worth answering me. It is enough to make one mad.

Farewell.

Your G. S.

As already mentioned, Segantini completed the last version of the Nirvana motive in 1893. Soon afterwards a change appeared, similar to the sudden earlier change at the end of the Brianza period. A letter to Vittore Grubicy, dated 21st December 1893, clearly shows the change from a dejected state of mind to joy in his life and work. The artist refers to an earlier letter and says: 'My letter, which you call melancholy, was dictated to me at a moment when one feels as if one had knocked one's shin-bone against something sharp-edged, making one cry aloud! As it is my habit to write only what I

feel, I wrote with the loud outcry of my soul.' Then, after a remark about his plans for work, he continues, 'Yes, truly life is a dream from beginning to end; the dream of gradually approaching an ideal that is very far off—but high, high to the extinction of the stuff of which it is made.'

The most striking characteristic of the artist's psychic constitution was without doubt a very unusual capacity for sublimation. He set out once again in this direction, in order to master the repressed desires once more, as he had done successfully seven years before. But even for him there was a limit in this capacity, a limit not to be over-stepped with impunity. Henceforth he was not successful in banishing those impulses permanently. From the year 1891, which had produced the *Hell of the Voluptuaries*, they thrust themselves forward again and again, and the following years up to his early death were filled with an inner struggle, which produced frequent changes of his moods. In the prime of his life and at the height of his ability to create, he was at the mercy of neurotic fluctuations of his spirits, the character of which was the negation of life. It is true that he overcame them again and again; but victory was gained by enormous sacrifices of psychic energy, and often enough it was only possible to compensate advancing depression by outbursts of violence.

Segantini sought refuge more than ever before in the realm of imagination; he had confessed that life in the world of dreams appeared to him as the one most worth striving after. Besides the already discussed representation of the wicked mothers, he produced in the years 1891–1894 many other fantastic creations outside the sphere of painting. To this period belongs the outline of a musical drama, about which Segantini tells his friend Vittore in a letter. It is of especial interest that there is a passage in this outline which shows the same inclinations towards cruelty that have been described in the *Nirvana* pictures. It is the description of a fire. The artist has endowed it with such powerful emotion that we at once conjecture that here a voice is speaking from his deepest unconscious mind. The passage runs thus: 'A woman is

fleeing precipitately from the fire, half naked, her hair dishevelled about her shoulders, two children, one of which is badly burnt, hanging to her neck. When the woman sees the burnt child, she begins to scream frightfully, falls on her knees before a shrine that stands beside the path, and there she laments and prays, holding up her two children to the image of the saint. After that she lays them down again. The burnt child is dead. She contemplates it stupidly, utters two cries of grief, starts up, raises her fist threateningly to the sky and collapses backwards to the earth.'

There is not the slightest doubt that Segantini has here elaborated with great emotion a reminiscence of his early childhood. A son of his parents, born before him, had perished in a fire. I do not know whether Giovanni witnessed this incident, but he certainly saw the grief of his mother for the dead child. It is not a mistake to suppose that this impression at that early age evoked cruel feelings in the boy, which satisfied his sadism. I would remind the reader that Segantini's first attempt at drawing was associated with the death of a child and the grief of a mother. It is only now completely comprehensible why this incident had such a powerful influence on him; it struck a chord in his memory recalling a repressed childhood reminiscence of a situation which had caused him satisfaction. And now the production of the mature man was dominated by the same repressed childhood wishes; under their influence he created the pictures of the wicked mothers and the outline of a musical drama.

Other creations of his imagination of this period serve the over-compensation of impulses towards cruelty, that were suppressed only with difficulty. Among them is the *Dream of a Worker*, a Utopian imaginative picture. At first, visions appear to the dreamer, which represent symbolically the prevailing class warfare. Then he plunges down from his position of observation, but does not touch the earth, remains floating in the air, glides on and comes to a land whose inhabitants enjoy the happiest social conditions. In this Utopia the poet experiences the realization of his socialistic ideals, which

change the original cruel egoistic disposition into the exact reverse. In this dream-like fantasy the feeling of gliding through the air is noteworthy. In this instance it is a thoroughly pleasurable experience.

Further to be mentioned is his fanciful portrayal of an ideal community of artists. Such productions show how much Segantini inclined to indulge himself in reveries of remote and high ideals. He did not place himself in all his fantasies as much in the background as in the above-mentioned Utopian dreams. On the contrary, as I have already stated, creations of the imagination result from repressed impulses of aggression or lust for power, which exalt the individual far above his sphere of life, even to the center of the world's happenings. All his life Segantini harbored fantasies of greatness of this kind in his heart. Now they were struggling for expression, more than ever before.

In his youthful fantasies of his origin he had created himself a royal father, and had thereby exalted himself. Now he glorified his mother as a divine ideal figure. Pictures like the *Fruit of Love* and *Dea Christiana* I have interpreted as related to his mother-complex, as the expression of his sublimated eroticism and of his over-compensated sadistic inclinations, which in early childhood had been directed towards his mother. However, it must not be overlooked that the apotheosis of the mother also exalts the son. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the child in those pictures was identical with the artist himself. But Segantini did not stop at painting himself as the Christ-child; soon after the *Dea Christiana* he painted a portrait of himself, which bears an unmistakable resemblance to pictures of the Christ. The dreaming eyes speak of suffering and sadness. Their gaze is directed yearningly towards distant ideals.

It was by no means inconsistent of Segantini, who was completely averse to religious dogma, who denied the existence of a personal God, to paint himself as Christ. His ethics, his deification of mother-love, and his sufferings caused him to identify himself with Christ. We see here, as in many another

case, a feeling of greatness growing out of the deepest melancholy, a melancholy that almost negates life.

Segantini, however, did not become an idle visionary. On the contrary, it impelled him towards work, with whose help he sublimated a large part of his repressed impulses, as he had done before. There came a time, when he devoted himself excessively to work. After he left Savognin in the year 1894 and removed to Maloja in the Upper Engadine he entered into the last period of his life, during which he became—as Servaes expresses it—a fanatic for work.

V

Eight years had passed since Segantini had climbed up to Savognin. Then he had come as a seeker. In continuous immediate contact with nature he had matured into a master. Now again he felt attracted to the heights, exactly as in the days when he was shaking off the depression of the Brianza period. He was thirty-six years of age when he moved to the Upper Engadine. He ventured into the heart of the high mountains; in the certain consciousness of his ability, he could now set himself the loftiest problems. He conceived an ardent love for the valley, in which he was to spend the last five years of his life. He had a religious veneration for the mountains of this country. He once wrote to a friend¹⁰, 'On some mornings, while contemplating these mountains for some minutes before I take up the brush, I feel myself urged to cast myself down before them, as if before altars raised up to heaven.'

It was inevitable that Segantini should immediately take root here, and that henceforth his life became one with the country, its mountains and its inhabitants. He enjoyed the glittering magnificance of the snow-capped peaks and glaciers, the vibrating blue of the sky and the brilliance of the sun—all characteristic of the Engadine—saw with delight the rich show of flowers, which a short summer causes to grow in a single splendor of color. His eye longed for all this grandeur of the Engadine. But no less was his mind and his character in tune

¹⁰ Servaes, Franz: *Op. cit.* p. 202.

with this country as with no other. The valley possesses an old independent culture; its inhabitants have preserved, in a seclusion lasting hundreds of years, their particular language, their own customs, a special style of architecture. Hard work and inflexible energy were necessary to turn this mountain valley into a dwelling place for man. Segantini felt himself related in character to these people, this country.

In Maloja he first of all produced a picture, on which his mournful, somber state of mind still weighs heavily. Yet it lacks the mystic, visionary character. The artist has represented an incident of daily life with a truth that is moving; he lets the melancholy of the past fade out and die away, as it were, in an elegy. A family is bringing back the body of their son to his native land. An infinite sadness lies over the picture. In it are included the father, who with bowed head is leading the horse by the bridle, two women, who are sitting on the coffin, the horse, weary with pulling its burden through the highlands, and a dog that is sadly creeping behind the group. That is the *Return to the Native Land*, one of the most touching works of the artist. Here again we find the evening illumination, as in all his pictures of death. But Segantini has succeeded in introducing a difference. The coloring of the softly clouded evening sky is of wonderful magnificence; it acts like an alleviating solace in the atmosphere of grief that dominates the group.

There followed a succession of great masterpieces, all equally outstanding both in the profundity of the ideas they express and in their perfect execution. Some of them are mentioned here to show more clearly the changing moods to which their creator was subject. In *Love at the Source of Life* a young couple are advancing to the source of life, at which an angel is keeping guard. Unlike his earlier symbolic paintings of this kind it is free from fear and distress. It is radiant with clarity and luminous colors. *Spring in the Alps* (1897) speaks of a serene and cheerful state of mind. Segantini regarded this work as his best. It is painted entirely in the lightest and most brilliant shades of color. *Hay-Making* is more serious.

We see women hard at work in the meadows reminding one of Millet's Gleaners. Dark thunder clouds are beginning to overcast the sky, pursuing each other like ghostly figures. Consolation of Faith once more reverts to the theme of death. A mother and father are lingering at the grave of their child in a little cemetery deeply covered with snow. Segantini has indicated with great clearness in the attitude of the two how they find consolation in their faith¹¹. In addition to being realistic the composition is also visionary. 'Upon the cross of the grave appears the vision of a veronica. Raising one's gaze up over the jagged peaks into the clear ether, high, high up, one becomes aware of (for this purpose a special lunette picture has been set up) a consoling heavenly vision. Two angels with large wings are lovingly carrying the little naked body of the child up into the realms of eternal joy.' His inclination towards the mystic, the supernatural, of which more will be said, had once again the upper hand.

The sequence of great works of the Maloja period winds up with the triptych Nature, Life, Death. This mighty creation shows the artist's desire to balance, to reconcile contrary impulses struggling in him, to unite life and death into one harmony. In the language of art he proclaims the unity of all being, and thus his last and unfinished work becomes a monistic confession of faith.

They were years of most strenuous work which Segantini spent in Maloja. His drive for work, which we understand from what has been said, became stronger and stronger. 'My soul, as covetous as an old miser, is yearning ardently, tremblingly, with staring eyes, to lift its wings to the horizon of genius, where the future works are born.' Thus he had written in a letter to Vittore Grubicy, shortly before he moved to Maloja (collection of letters, p. 192). In the following years he proved that these were no idle words. His enthusiasm for his work was unbounded and exerted his strength to the utmost degree. In summer, he set to work in the earliest hours of the morning, often walking long distances until he

¹¹ Servaes, Franz: *Op. cit.* p. 210.

came to his place of work which he changed according to his requirements. He would then work indefatigably until the evening. In winter, he was to be seen working in the open in biting cold weather. Even before he had completed one work, new designs and future plans would fill his mind. Enthusiastic creative impulse together with his devoted love of nature and his devout veneration of its beauty kept him from becoming engulfed in dejected moods as often as they approached him.

But this moving struggle in his soul was to come to an early end.

Of the parts of the triptych, Nature was as good as completed. In September 1899 Segantini worked at the other two parts with great zeal. Life, for the most part, was finished and during the last days that he spent in Maloja, he had begun working on Death. This painting was left behind in an incomplete state when, on the 18th of September, accompanied by Baba and his youngest son Mario, he climbed the Shafberg. The central panel, on which he intended to work, was brought there on the following day. In spite of the advanced state of the season, his impetuous desire to create had driven him up to this height (2,700 meters), where a modest little stone house offered him shelter. On a clear evening he arrived at this, his last stage. The peaks of the Bernina shone before him in their evening glory, and inspired him to speak the words: 'I will paint your mountains, Engadiners, so that the whole world will speak of their beauty!'

For a day he worked at the picture Life when, coinciding with a sudden change of the weather, he was seized with a feverish sickness. It set in with great violence. The attic of the little house, whose defective construction afforded only a very imperfect protection from storm and cold, became a sick-room.

What we hear about the further course of the illness sounds curious. During the night Segantini got up and, scantily dressed, in spite of his fever, went out repeatedly into the snowstorm. On the following day, he dragged himself to the

picture, which was set up a short distance from the hut, and tried to work. He fell asleep with weakness; he was awakened and with difficulty escorted back to the house. He now lay ill, completely exhausted. But he refused to allow a doctor to be fetched, although personal friendship attached him to the nearest doctor within reach, Dr. Bernhard in Samaden. Mario, who had to go down to Samaden for some other reason, was permitted to speak only of an indisposition of his father. Soon afterwards the doctor sent word by a messenger that he was ready to come up to the Schafberg at once, but Segantini declined. When his condition had become still worse at last Mario had to go down to Pontresina where he telephoned to the doctor, and the latter arrived on the Schafberg in the night and storm—when there was nothing more to save.

The dying man, about whom his family had collected, did not seem to be conscious of the threatening danger. He was at times inclined to joke. Then his sky cleared once again. He asked that his bed be moved to the little window: '*Voglio vedere le mie montagne*'. Those were the last words of his yearning. 'There he lay now, with his gaze fixed on the opposite range of mountains, the same that he had wanted to paint in his picture. But in his gaze there was no sad leavetaking; in it lay the whole passionate hunger of the painter and lover; he sucked the colors, forms, lights and lines into himself, because he thought of forming something out of them, that was to be sublimest art.' (Servaes)

Segantini's behavior in these last days of his life throws a vivid light on the discord of psychic forces in his soul. In the full consciousness of his strength he climbs up to the Schafberg. Up there he proclaims in enthusiastic words the aim of his aspirations. With ardent zeal he sets to work immediately, and directly after that, on being taken ill with an acute malady, endangers himself by going out into the snowstorm at night, exhausts his strength when he needs it most in the fight against his illness and obstinately refuses the help offered him.

We ask ourselves: was it only his impetus for work and his joy for creating, which caused him to seek out that high place?

Did he go up there only in order to live and to work, or was there besides these conscious motives an unconscious longing for death, which drove him on? We shall only be able to clear up this point if we obtain as complete a review as possible as to what meaning the thought of death had in Segantini's soul.

He had early in life become acquainted with the effect of death: he had lost first his brother and then his mother. He learned that the death of his mother was connected with his birth; it was said that he himself had come into the world so weak that it was hardly thought possible to keep him alive; he remembered having twice escaped death as if by a miracle. Therefore, he came to the view early in life that death is at all times near to man, and it followed that his conception of life was an earnest one.

These sad childhood experiences do not explain the enormous power that thoughts of death had over Segantini. We must rather return to the inner causes already discussed. His sadism, his death wishes, had to be withdrawn from the objects towards which they were principally directed. They were partly turned back to the subject as thoughts of his own death, and became partially sublimated, experiencing by way of reaction formation a transformation into their opposites. Sublimation of death wishes in Segantini is best illustrated by the fact that his first attempt at drawing and his last unfinished painting were pictures of death. Soon after he left the Brera School, he procured entrance to a school of anatomy where he produced his first nature studies of corpses. As in earlier years, when he had worked indefatigably beside the corpse of a child, so the sight of death attracted him now. In this way, one of his earliest pictures originated; it was named *Il Prode* (The Dead Hero). While working on this an incident occurred which made a deep impression on him. He had placed the corpse, which served him as a model, upright against the wall. While he was absorbed in his work, the body, exposed to the rays of the sun, lost its stiffness, tottered, and fell face downwards. Young Segantini regarded this incident as an evil omen, and for a long time afterwards could not free himself from a fear of death.

The inclination to superstition, which was very pronounced in our artist, reminds one again of the psychic peculiarities of obsessional neurotics. These invalids are occupied particularly with doubts concerning the length of their lives and with their fate after death. They are always ready to believe in omens. Segantini behaved in exactly the same way. We shall soon have more particulars about this. Other pictures of death followed *Il Prode*. For instance, *For Our Dead*, *The Empty Cradle*, *The Orphans*, originated in the early period. Then the pessimistic melancholy landscapes of the Brianza period followed. In Savognin his thoughts of death found expression in the *Nirvana* pictures. Finally in *Maloja*, *The Return to his Native Land*, *Consolation of Faith* and at last *Death*, as part of the great triptych were painted. However, these are only examples from a large number of pictures which treat of death.

Forebodings of death never left him. It is true that he warded them off, but they returned again—returned again out of the depths of his unconscious. Among Segantini's papers¹² there is to be found under the heading, *An Unpleasant Dream*, the story of a dream illustrating with great force the struggle of his opposing desires. The first part of the dream reads as follows: 'I was sitting sadly in a mysterious place, which was both a room and a church. A strange figure stood facing me stupidly, a horrid being of repulsive form. It had white glassy eyes, the color of its flesh was yellow, it seemed to be half a cretin and half death. I arose, and with an imperious look chased the creature away, which after it had looked at me askance, withdrew. I followed it with my eyes into a dark hiding-place, into which it disappeared. I thought, "This apparition of a corpse must be a bad omen for me". When I turned to sit down, a shudder went through my limbs, for that disconsolate apparition stood facing me again. I arose like a fury, cursing and threatening. Humbly it disappeared anew. Thereupon I said to myself: "Perhaps I did wrong in driving it away like this; it will avenge itself".' Here we find a compact expression of the horror of death, the attempted defense,

¹² *Giovanni Segantinis Schriften und Briefe*. Op. cit., p. 52.

the reappearance of the thought hardly conjured away, the explosion of the pent up emotions, the repeated victory over the thought of death, and finally the resigned acquiescence; it will be avenged and at last I shall be the vanquished!

Segantini ascribed a calamitous significance to such dreams, as well as to certain other happenings. The more frequently he was frightened by omens of death, the more reassurance he needed. Thereby it becomes comprehensible that he lent a willing ear to all kinds of prophecies. He clung especially to a prophecy that had been made, according to which he was to reach Titian's age. It is said that he relied firmly upon this prophecy whenever dismal thoughts arose in his mind with exceptional force.

He even went further. He resorted to a method familiar to us from the analysis of obsessional neurotics. The most effective defense against the thoughts of death, be they directed against one's own self or against others, consists in the negation of death. To deny the existence of death has been the striving of mankind's imagination in every age. The people who cling most to a belief in life after death, are those whose lives are constantly disquieted by fantasies of death: the obsessional neurotics. We find in them a special kind of religiousness, in which the belief in immortality plays a great part. If there is an after-life, the torturing reproaches that these people make to themselves are untenable; those whose deaths they fear they have caused are not dead but are living in another world.

Once before we found Segantini denying death in a peculiar manner. He repainted the picture of a girl dying of tuberculosis and transformed it into a picture of blooming life. In later years this urgency went even further. He developed a trend towards supernaturalism and was an especial devotee of spiritualism. Coincidentally some of his pictures began to show that mystic trait of which we have already spoken. As was the case in the unpleasant dream so in reality, thoughts of death gained supremacy over him more and more. Naturally he counterbalanced them, though with a tremendous expenditure of energy. While in his conscious mind he turned

toward creations, while he spoke enthusiastically of his plans for work, ever clearer arose from his unconscious the call of death. Segantini tells us of something that happened about a year before his death and offers it as proof that some communication with the dead exists. He had lost his way wandering, lay down weary in the snow and fell asleep. He would certainly have frozen to death, had not a voice which he recognized as his mother's called to him. He explains his belief in another world by this occurrence.

We have learned from the study of the unconscious that in many casual happenings in life there is much more meaning than one realizes¹³. In no sense foretelling the future, they prove to be determined by unconscious influences emanating from the repressed complexes and are responsible, for instance, for mistakes which occur so often and which we describe as clumsiness, taking hold of the wrong thing, mislaying articles, etc. Every such happening, while appearing to be accidental and meaningless, actually has its own logical basis in the unconscious and fulfils a function completely unknown to the individual.

Of especial interest are cases of unconsciously motivated suicide, by no means rare, be it attempted or actually carried out. Persons who are suffering from depression disregard the simplest rules of safety followed by them when they are not depressed. They run in front of automobiles without taking any care, take poisonous instead of harmless medicines by mistake, or clumsily injure themselves in a manner which they would otherwise not do. All such actions can happen without conscious intention—be dictated by unconscious impulses. For example, not a few of the frequent accidents in mountain climbing fall into this category of unconscious suicide.

It is very remarkable that Segantini, accustomed as he was to mountains through which he had roamed in this district at all times of the year as painter, tourist, and hunter, should lose his way and then be so imprudent as to fall asleep in the snow

¹³ Freud: *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. Trans. by A. A. Brill. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

in the winter cold. It arouses in us the suspicion that here might be a case of an unconscious attempt at suicide. We are supported in this supposition by the fact that particularly at that time, gloomy thoughts often arose from Segantini's unconscious which made it very clear that there was in his mind a yearning for death. But it went no further than an attempt. The opposing will to live was still successful in asserting itself in the form of a voice that soon interrupted his sleep. The voice of his mother, coming from his inner consciousness but projected outwardly, called the sleeper back to life. That it was his mother's voice had a profound meaning for to him motherhood was the principle of all life.

Shall we be permitted to deduce any inferences from this incident with reference to Segantini's death, which took place not very long afterwards? Let us see what happened shortly before the climb up the Schafberg. The artist's wife tells the following story (Servaes, p. 264): 'On the last Sunday that he spent in Maloja, he stretched himself out to rest on some chairs in his studio. I remained outside and talked with the children. When I entered, I thought he was sleeping and said, "Oh, I am sorry that I woke you up, you need sleep so much". Whereupon he answered at once: "No, my dear, you did well to come in. Just think, I was dreaming—and believe me, I was dreaming with my eyes open, of that I am sure—that it was I whom they were carrying on their bier out of that hut (he pointed to the picture of Death). One of the women close by was you, and I saw how you were weeping". Of course, I said he had been sleeping and that it had been a dream. However, he adhered to his statement, firmly convinced that he had been awake, and that he had seen it all with his eyes open. Shortly afterwards, he related to our Baba the same thing that he had said to me. Well, whatever he saw at the time, was to come to pass in twelve days' time. His picture of Death represented his own death; they carried his coffin out of that hut. The scene was the same that he had painted in his picture; the woman, that one sees weeping in the picture, was I. Note that at the time of that vision he felt quite well, so much

so that that afternoon he continued his writing. On the following day, he worked from four in the morning until nine, and then carried the picture in a box, from the place where he had painted to his home. The same evening he was able to undertake the exhausting three hours' walk from Pontresina to the top of the Schafberg. He believed so firmly in spiritualism that he would quite certainly not have started out from Maloja had he not felt perfectly well.'

In this waking dream I do not perceive a presentiment, in the usual sense, but an expression of longing for death, which forces its way into consciousness. Comparison with the already quoted unpleasant dream shows a notable difference: in the former dream a strong, yes, a passionate warding-off of death; now only terror-stricken horror at its nearness.

Segantini's wife describes graphically how, on the day following this waking dream, he performed almost superhuman work. Having reached the top of the mountain, he then uttered the proud words, which seemed to proceed from an unrestricted feeling of strength. But we understand that his desire for life was only able to hold its ground against the assault of thoughts of death by an extreme sublimation of all his forces.

It is said that those about Segantini rarely noticed, even at the very end, that he had to struggle with gloomy moods. It might therefore seem to be an exaggeration, that I attach so much importance to this internal conflict. But the battle with the repressed drives is a silent struggle, which a man of deep feelings like Segantini would allow as little as possible to be noticeable on the surface. Until shortly before his death the affirmation of life had always won the victory. Only when the longing for death gained mastery were the signs of the struggle to be observed.

Thus it was with Segantini as he ascended the Schafberg. Then came the illness that was to be his doom. Perhaps he might have drawn fresh courage at the sight of all the magnificence of the heights, new strength to carry out all that he had promised the people of the Engadine, if the illness had not

intervened. But when this illness surprised him who never before had known what illness was, the unconscious took advantage of the opportunity. His behavior, as we described it above, may of course at first give the impression that relying on his good health he took no notice of bodily suffering. But is it a defense to open the gates of the city to the enemy that is trying to shoot down the walls? As so often happens, the conscious mind tries to take the credit for an action resulting from unconscious motives and utilizes it in its own way, whereas actually, unknown to consciousness, other totally opposite motives were at work. Segantini died from an acute illness, but not from it alone. He might perhaps have overcome it had not sinister forces from the unconscious come to the assistance of the disease, helped with the work of destruction and even summoned death itself.

In the meantime he clung in his conscious mind with passionate love to all that life had meant to him. Even as the footsteps of death were approaching he threw glances of longing at his mountains, those mountains whose beauty his art still strove to praise. We are reminded of Moses, who at the close of his life ascended a mountain, from which he could look down into the Promised Land. That ascent too was his last journey.

'Spenti son gli occhi umile . . .' In these wonderful verses on the death of Segantini, Gabriele d'Annunzio has erected a memorial to the all-embracing love of the master, that love which recalls to us Francis of Assisi.

But we know that the same man who had wished to embrace all nature in endless love had also in his mind the wish to destroy his own life. Psychoanalytic observation, which gives us insight into the struggle between conscious and unconscious forces allows us also to understand and to feel with him this internal dissension. It unveils to our eyes the tragedy of this life which came to such an early close. The shadow of death accompanied him, this tireless worker, with every step he took.

*Supplement **

In our previous remarks we have spoken of the depressions which overcame Segantini at many periods of his life. The increased scientific experience of recent years allows us a greater insight into the genesis of and reasons for such depressions, although each case requires complete psychoanalysis of the individual unconscious if we wish to arrive at a satisfactory explanation. The general results of the psychoanalysis of such conditions should be used with great care and reserve in considering the sufferings of one whom we have not been able to subject to such an examination during his lifetime. Psychological investigation teaches us that these conditions of depression, described in medical science as melancholy, arise from definite causes. We do not mean by this to ascribe Segantini's sufferings to some definite clinical disease. We will attempt only to suggest to what extent certain recent conclusions of psychoanalytic investigation are able to throw more light on the psychic condition of the artist.

As a general rule it is found that these states of melancholia follow some happening which was too overpowering for the psychic constitution of the person in question, viz, some loss which convulses his psychic life to its very depths and which appears to him to be absolutely unbearable and impossible to overcome, for which, in his opinion, never in his life will he be able to find compensation or reparation. One finds in every case that it is the loss of the one who occupied the central position in his feelings and on whom he had concentrated his whole love. This loss, however, need not have been caused by death; what is essential is the feeling that the psychic connection with the love object has completely broken down. The commonest example of such a loss is an irreparable disappointment caused by someone specially dear. It is the feeling of having been completely abandoned that causes the subsequent psychic depression.

* The supplement is an addendum to the revised edition of 1925, printed fourteen years after the first appearance of the essay.

One such actual happening in itself is, however, not sufficient to cause such a severe disturbance of the psychic equilibrium as we find in the state of melancholia and related conditions. The strength of the emotion resulting from the disappointment can be explained partly by previous happenings of a similar kind, which in their turn had already caused similar injuries to the psyche. In psychoanalyzing such a case, we gradually work back by means of the slowly awaking recollections until we reach incidents of early childhood which taxed to the utmost the still insufficient psychic resistances of the individual. All our experience up to now shows us that in the case of a man it was usually his mother who caused him that disappointment in an early phase of childhood.

In Segantini's case, it is true, we are not in a position to examine all details of this process so important for understanding his later life. But as already outlined above, the artist must have taken over from childhood into later life a conflict, which was later activated from time to time by psychic causes.

One further insight is given us by the more recent progress of psychoanalysis. We have discovered not only that various psychic conditions of the adult are modeled as regards content and form on experiences of childhood, but that man is actually subject to a compulsion to repeat in adult life what had once been experienced in early life.

We had formed the opinion that in Segantini's case a happy early childhood was followed by a period of abandonment, which in its turn was succeeded by an urge for retaliation that he restrained only with an effort. We find the same sequence of psychic conditions in his later life. Let us recall the happy busy time in Savognin, followed by a period of withdrawal and depression. The solitude, chosen by the artist himself, repeats that state of abandonment; it must in fact appear to us as a strong drive to wrap himself entirely in gloomy, sad moods. There followed the pictures, that according to Segantini's own testimony, were to punish the wicked mothers. It is as if his unconscious had compelled the artist to repeat again and again, according to the pattern of his childhood—

happiness, disappointment, resentful hostility, and its eventual mastery.

If we study carefully the psychic lives of people subject to depressions, emotional cycles similar to those described in Segantini are found. A short time ago, a patient reported to me a dream, which reminds one in a surprising way of Segantini's pictures of the Wicked Mothers. The dreamer was neither acquainted with these pictures, nor the Indian mythological sources known to Segantini. In the dream he saw a female figure, which gradually became like his mother, floating in the air. She approached him, as if she wanted to attract him, only to glide away again. This incident repeated itself several times. The psychic disorder for which this patient presented himself for psychoanalysis, was closely connected with his feelings towards his mother, who in his childhood had caused him a succession of grievous disappointments. Originally loving and affectionate, his mother had one day forbidden the little boy all caresses because he reacted to them in an obviously erotic manner. The argument with which the mother had justified her changed attitude had however released the most violent feelings in the boy. She had explained that she had an aversion for caresses. Both before and after, the boy had had the opportunity of observing the intimacies of his parents, and was convinced that his mother took an active part in them, even provoked his father to them. The mother in the dream approaching the dreamer, to withdraw again immediately, now becomes easily comprehensible. Her floating attitude indicates sensual pleasure; the symbolism is familiar to us from many dreams and from other sources of human imagination. It should be added that certain details of the dream show a tendency to take vengeance on the mother. The similarity of this dream to Segantini's picture the Wicked Mothers is not to be denied.

In clinical cases of melancholy, we find—obscured by fantasies of revenge in the deepest psychic strata—the longing for the mother in the most primitive meaning of the word. Often the yearning is expressed for the earliest satisfaction at the

breast of the mother. For example, the patient whose dream is reported, was once in a state of depression from which, according to his feelings, there was no way out. At that time he met a woman who represented to him his mother, in both good and bad senses. Having no opposition to a sexual union, she openly indicated her desire. His need was different. With his head on her breast, he fell asleep to awake later free of his depression. Formerly despairing and tired of life, he had regained for the time a certain contact with life.

How like this incident is Segantini's behavior a short time before his death. One winter's day he sits down in the snow, overpowered with weariness. After a time the voice of his mother long dead awakens him. He finds his way back to life, and is able, for the moment at least, to shake off his sad mood.

The first and most lasting psychic union of man to another human being results, according to all the experience of psychoanalysis, from the earliest pleasurable impressions—from nursing at the breast. The strength of this union with the nursing mother reveals itself in several forms in the human psyche. We saw in Segantini's life that the earth, nature, the Alpine landscape, all represented his mother. The ardor with which he absorbed the features of nature was the strongest motive power of his life, right up to his last words which expressed that longing for his mountains.

It seems ever more evident to us that the variations in Segantini's moods sprang from a longing for his mother. Originally satisfied, later disappointed, it was the mainstay of his life and the cause of his early death.

Translated by DOROTHEA TOWNSHEND CAREW

THE EXPERIMENTAL DEMONSTRATION OF UNCONSCIOUS MENTATION BY AUTOMATIC WRITING

BY MILTON H. ERICKSON (ELOISE, MICHIGAN)

For the most part our knowledge of psychological processes has been achieved through clinical observations. That such knowledge is valid is readily admitted, but its confirmation by other methods is essential. For this reason, the application of experimental procedure is a desirable means of retesting conclusions reached clinically. In this way hypotheses may be subjected to direct tests from which the extraneous forces inevitable in clinical situations may be excluded. In an effort to develop methods for this sort of laboratory investigation, the experimental procedures reported here were undertaken.

Protocol I.

During an evening gathering of about ten college people, a discussion arose about hypnotism and the rôle of the unconscious in conscious actions. The writer claimed that a person could perform an act consciously which would express fully all of his conscious purposes, but which could simultaneously have another unconscious meaning, and that by appropriate measures this unconscious meaning could be brought fully into consciousness. This gave rise to much argument, and presently one of the subjects of the writer's earlier experiments with hypnotism volunteered her services.

In casting about for some act which could be recorded fully so that no doubts might arise, the suggestion was made that the subject be asked to write something, thus making the performance tangible. Accordingly, the subject was told *that she was to write something, in full conscious awareness of what she was writing, that her writing was to be clearly legible to everyone present, but that in writing it her unconscious would so guide her hand that she would in actuality write something*

beyond that which could be read either by herself or by the others present. To these instructions a flippant reply was given, not in keeping with the serious general tone of the discussion, namely, 'You say words, but they don't make sense.' The full significance of this remark did not appear until later.

There followed further discussion about what should be written. The author proposed that all present should guess the length of time that it had taken a member of the group to move a certain article in the room. The guesses ranged from two seconds to half a minute, the subject alone venturing the absurd estimate of 'two to three minutes'. Each one defended his own guess warmly, but the subject was peculiarly insistent upon her accuracy. After some general argument the author suggested to the subject that she write her *unconscious* guess as to the length of time involved. She protested emphatically that her conscious and unconscious guesses would be the same, and that there was no point in writing it down since she had already put it into words and defended it orally. However, in response to the author's insistence she began to write. As she set pencil to paper, she looked startled and declared emphatically, 'It wasn't either—it was at least two minutes'. She then proceeded to write rather slowly and in the uncertain, juvenile script shown in the illustration. Again as she wrote she said,



'It wasn't either, I know it was at least two minutes, nearer three'. When finished, she was asked if she knew what she had written. She replied, 'Yes, I know, but it isn't so'. She was promptly told not to say aloud what she had written, and the paper was passed around the group with the injunction that each should read it silently.

When all had examined it, the subject was asked what she had written. She replied, 'I wrote "thirty seconds", but that isn't right because it was at least two minutes, if not three.' After scanning the writing again, the author asked if the group

accepted her statement of what she had written. Some re-examined the writing but all agreed that it read 'thirty seconds'. The subject was reminded of the original discussion about hidden unconscious meanings, and asked if she was sure she had read it correctly. To this she replied, 'As soon as I started to write, I knew I was going to write "thirty seconds". I knew that that was wrong, but my hand just went ahead and wrote it.' Again she was asked if she was sure she had read her writing correctly. She replied, 'Well, you will have to admit that that's a *t* and an *h* and an *i*. Look at that *r*—you can't mistake that, or the *t*. It just has to be thirty. You have all the letters there. I admit the writing is bad, but you try holding paper on your lap when you write and your writing won't be so good either. I'm sure that that *s* is an *s*.' Here the subject asked several of the group individually if they, too, felt certain of the identity of the *s*. Finally accepting their reassurances, she continued, 'That's a period after *c* which makes the abbreviation for seconds. "Thirty sec." is what it reads, with seconds abbreviated, but my handwriting would be better if I had a better place to put the paper.' Again the author asked, 'But really, haven't you written something more? Can't you read something more than just "thirty sec."?' She scanned the paper carefully, as did the other members of the group but all insisted that the writing clearly and legibly read 'thirty sec.'. The subject continued to insist that she knew what she was going to write immediately upon the initiation of the act of writing, and that she had written exactly what was in her mind.

She was then requested to answer the following questions *by means of automatic writing*, as a method of securing unconscious responses directly. The questions and the answers obtained by the automatic writing are given verbatim:

Q. Does this writing read 'thirty sec.'?

A. Yes.

Q. Does the writing have any additional meaning?

A. Yes.

Q. Can it be read?

A. Yes.

Q. Has anybody read the writing correctly?

A. No.

Q. Is 'thirty sec.' the correct reading?

A. No.

Q. Is something omitted in reading 'thirty sec.'?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you write that which has been omitted?

A. Yes.

Q. All right, write what has been omitted.

A. 8 (written as a numeral).

Q. What does the writing really read, then?

A. 38 sec. (in numerals).

Immediately after writing the last reply, the subject picked up the original writing and declared, 'Yes, it does read 38, only I didn't realize that that *y* was written as an 8. I can see it now. I wasn't thinking of numbers and I was sure that *thirty* was wrong. Yet I knew that the *t* and the *r* were plain and I was sure the *s* was an *s*. I can see the 8 now, but I couldn't before even though I know now that I wrote it. I was so sure you were wrong when you acted as if I had written something I didn't know about.'

The subject was then asked to write automatically the replies to the following questions, which are given verbatim with their answers:

Q. Do you recall the instructions I gave you about combining conscious and unconscious activity?

A. Yes.

Q. Is this writing your demonstration of this?

A. Yes.

Summary of Protocol I.

The main steps in this observation can be summarized as follows:

1. A general discussion of the question of whether a single act can simultaneously express both a conscious and an unconscious meaning and purpose.
2. The decision to test this through automatic writing.
3. An offer to serve as the 'test animal' by a woman who had frequently been subjected to hypnosis by the experimenter.
4. The request made that clearly and consciously she should write something which contained a concealed double meaning.
5. Her flippant retort.
6. The execution of this order: while she is thinking and saying 'two to three minutes', she writes out in script 'thirty sec.' in such a way that the γ conceals the number 8 and can also be read to mean '38 seconds'.
7. This is done so cleverly that at first no one except the experimenter consciously recognizes the presence of the concealed figure 8.
8. When asked to describe *aloud* what she had written the subject insists that she has written 'thirty seconds'. When asked to describe this *by automatic writing*, the subject writes '38 sec.', thus indicating that on an unconscious level she was fully aware of the little joke with which she had carried out the experimenter's request, although on a conscious level she had no knowledge of it.

Discussion.

In the above experiment, two types of behavior attract attention. The first of these is the subject's flippant and ambiguous reply when given her instructions. By replying in this way she consciously neither accepted nor rejected the instructions, but left herself free to react to the instructions as she chose. Consciously she accepted the task; but at the same time by this flippant attitude she shifted onto her unconscious the guidance of her response.

To support this shift, another simple technique of self-distraction was employed: the grossly exaggerated guess which she made about the time. Although of the others present none

guessed more than half a minute, the subject insisted that the action had taken two to three minutes. Thus, she placed herself at variance with the entire group, and gave herself a conscious issue to battle over. As a result, as she began to write she was concerned not with the identity of *what* she was writing, but rather with the problem of her correctness.

Then, after she had completed her writing, and her defenses against full conscious awareness were threatened again as the experimenter asked her to examine her writing, she rendered this dangerous procedure harmless by isolating the individual letters one from another. Even so, the irregularity of the *y* raised a pressing problem. From this she extricated herself by stressing the difficulty of writing on paper held in her lap (in itself a valid rationalization) and then furthered this distraction by raising an immediate and insistent doubt concerning the identity of the letter *s*, thereby displacing to safer territory the doubt properly centering about the *y*. This was followed by still further distraction of her attention to the period and to the abbreviated form of the word. Having thus identified the two parts, she was able again to identify the phrase as a whole, avoiding as she did so any other possibility. Thus, with the irregularity of the critical letter *y* explained plausibly by the physical difficulties of writing, and its identity bounded on both sides by clearly identified letters, any critical conscious consideration of its meaning was precluded.

When she was pushed still further to search for hidden meanings in what she had written, the emotions involved in the unconscious purpose to keep her little joke to herself were expressed as an anxiety concerning the experimenter, later described as the feeling, 'I was so sure you were wrong'.

Finally, mention must be made of her use of two different types of written symbols, the word form and the numerical form, to express a unitary thought. The tendency for one pattern of thinking to persist, and the difficulty in shifting to another type, are generally recognized. The task imposed on the subject of this experiment implied the simultaneous per-

formance of two different types of mental activity, one of which would be obvious and attention-compelling, and thus able to establish a pattern of mental activity that could obscure and inhibit the recognition of the other. Hence, the written production began with a word and ended with a word, with the numerical symbol secreted in a part of the first word, although when seen in isolation it is easily recognizable.

Thus, by writing the phrase 'thirty-eight seconds' with the eight as a numerical symbol forming the y of the word thirty, by apparently failing to understand instructions, by developing minor affects of a mild anxiety, by rationalizing realities, and by employing techniques of self-distraction and mixing together two different types of symbolic expression, she was able to execute consciously an act which in itself was fully expressive and complete, but which simultaneously possessed an additional unrecognized significance at another level of mentation. By a technique of automatic writing this hidden meaning was revealed by the subject, who only then could recognize it consciously.

Protocol II.

A twenty-two year old girl, a college graduate and member of the staff, had been one of those present when the previous experiment had been performed. She was interested in the possibility of independent unconscious thinking and asked to be hypnotized and to be taught automatic writing as a possible means of identifying some of her own inner conflicts. After some discussion an appointment was arranged, and that very evening an attempt was made to hypnotize her.

She was exceedingly resistive and finally it became necessary to pretend to abandon the attempt. The hypnotist feigned interest in a radio program and somewhat discourteously ignored her request that he try again. She became resentful at this and retaliated, perhaps, by going into a spontaneous sleep. As soon as she was sleeping soundly, she was roused gently, and then by slowly graduated suggestions she was led into a fairly deep hypnotic sleep. In this state, a domineering

type of suggestion was employed and she was literally forced to walk about, to change her position, and to manifest catalepsy, in order to induce a deeper trance.¹

During these procedures casual mention was made of automatic writing—a few general remarks, followed by a vague hint that she herself might sometime do automatic writing. Then, after further and more explicit discussion, a definite suggestion was made that she write automatically at once. She was seated at a desk and instructed to dream of pleasant things of long ago, and told that as she did this her hand would automatically write some simple unemotional statements. She complied fairly readily, showing the typical juvenile script of automatic writing, and wrote the sentences, 'The lady washed my hair', followed by, 'Cats and dogs fight'.

When it was observed that her writing was legible and her arm movements free, she was given the further suggestion that after awakening, whenever the experimenter rapped on his desk or chair, she should automatically write the sentence, ' 'Twas a dark and dreary night'. She was also instructed to write legibly, easily, rapidly, and without paying any conscious attention to her hand.

The subject was wakened, and subsequently eight times during the course of the evening, she was induced to write the phrase, ' 'Twas a dark and dreary night', in response to eight separate tapping signals. Some of these were done while she was awake, but with her attention distracted. Some were done while she was again in a state of hypnotic sleep. At the end, under hypnosis, she was instructed to remember nothing of the entire complicated activity of the evening except the fact that she had been in a trance—once. It was this command which became the storm center around which the experiment focused.

¹ The domineering type of suggestion employed here is used reluctantly and only under special circumstances such as this. This is not the place for a full discussion of the relationship of the technique employed to the underlying unconscious fantasies which the subject brings to the hypnotic experience. Empirically, however, it has been found necessary at times, when dealing with subjects who consciously approach the experience with enthusiastic coöperation but with exceptionally intense unconscious resistances, to subject them to this type of exercise before undertaking any steps relating to the experiment itself.

Several times during the course of these observations, when questioned as to the number of times she had written the post-hypnotic phrase, the subject had become confused, and had made varying mistakes. It was evident, however, that she was always struggling against a too compliant acquiescence to the suggestions which had been given her under hypnosis. The same attitude was indicated now at the end of the experiment.

For some minutes she was allowed to sleep quietly, after which she was awakened and a casual conversation was resumed. Suddenly this was interrupted in order to ask, 'How many times have you been in a trance this evening?' She looked puzzled and then very slowly and very thoughtfully replied, 'Three times, maybe four, but I wouldn't know how many because *all I want to say is "once"* and I can't figure out why I should want to say "once"'. The remark was made casually, 'Well, if you want to say numbers and are interested in saying numbers, just say the first number that comes into your mind'. She replied with unwonted alacrity, 'Thirty-five'. The experimenter had expected her to say 'eight', thus completing her rejection of the general instructions for amnesia which she had begun in her statement about the number of times she had been in a trance. Although she had wanted to reply 'once' in obedience to my instructions, she actually had answered 'three to four'.

She was asked, 'Why did you say, "thirty-five"?' She answered, 'I don't know. That was the first number that came to my mind that seemed to be right'. Asked, 'Why is it right?', she answered, 'It just seems that way'. 'Has it any meaning?' 'Well, all numbers have meaning and I presume you would say then that thirty-five has a meaning.' The experimenter wrote the number 35 and asked her to look at it carefully and to tell what it meant. She looked confused and puzzled, kept glancing at the number and then at the experimenter as if she could not understand what was meant. Finally, she declared that the request was meaningless to her: 'I just can't understand what you mean.' Her whole manner suggested that she was blocked and unable to think clearly. In silence the experimenter wrote clearly on the paper, '7 plus 1 equals 8, which is

the reason for saying 35'. She still looked at it as blankly as a school child struggling helplessly with a problem in arithmetic, and when told to think that over carefully, she smiled in an amused fashion, read it aloud and said, 'That doesn't mean anything to me. What has 7 plus 1 equals 8 got to do with 35? There isn't any connection'. Here again she seemed to show the pseudo-stupidity of a frightened school child whose unconscious affects have got in the way of its thinking processes. She was asked, 'Does your unconscious know what that means?' She replied, 'I don't know, maybe it hasn't got any meanings.'

The suggestion was given that her hand write automatically. She looked rather puzzled, picked up the pencil and then glanced up for a cue. She was asked, 'Does your unconscious understand that sentence?' She continued to look at the experimenter with a puzzled expression while her hand wrote freely in typical automatic script 'yes'. When she had finished writing, the pencil dropped to the paper and she became aware that her hand had written. She looked at the word 'yes', spelled it out, and asked, 'What does that mean? Why did my hand write that?' The experimenter suggested, 'That is the answer to my question', to which she replied, 'What question?' The question was repeated, 'Does your unconscious understand that sentence?' She again looked at 'yes', grasped its relationship to the question, but still looked puzzled as to its meaning. Then she was asked, 'Has that statement anything to do with the instructions given you in the last trance?' Again she wrote 'yes', while still studying the experimenter's face as if she did not understand what he said. As before, she became aware of having written 'yes' only as her pencil dropped on the page. She promptly inquired, 'What does all this mean?' This query was answered with the further question, 'Has it got anything to do with something you have done?' Again the automatic writing answered 'yes'.

The following series of questions was then asked, to each of which the subject replied with automatic writing, each time showing bewilderment and an inability to understand as she

watched her hand write. The manner of asking each question was to address it to her hand as if it were a third person, which will explain the reference to the subject herself as 'she'.

Q. You have written a sentence a number of times for me?

A. Yes.

Q. You know how many times you have written it?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you tell me how many times?

A. Yes.

Q. Would *she* know?

A. No.

There the subject interrupted to declare, 'That isn't so. I know how many times I wrote it. Look, here I wrote it three times, and there once, that makes four, and here are two more, and there's another, no, that's the same one, no, here's that one—one, two, three, four, five, six, seven,' pointing each time, 'seven times I wrote it. You can see for yourself.' In making this count, and pointing each time, she had moved her hand repeatedly back and forth over the eighth writing without noticing it, although it was fully as plain as the rest of the writing.

Again addressing the subject's hand:

Q. That's the right count for her, isn't it?

A. Yes (a pause, and then in fainter characters and less clearly formed letters) for her.

As the subject read this she demanded, 'What does that mean "for her"? I'm the only one that's writing—"for her"—Oh yes, that's what you just said when you spoke.'

Q. Shall we tell her?

A. No (pause) not yet.

Here the subject read this reply aloud wonderingly, repeated 'not yet', then in a tone of marked affect demanded, 'Say, what's going on here?' Then apologetically, 'Oh, I beg your pardon, Dr. Erickson, I didn't mean that, I'm sorry.'

Q. It's all right, isn't it?

A. Sure!

Here the subject read her answer aloud saying, 'Sure? Why, Dr. Erickson, I wouldn't answer you like that, I don't mean to be impolite. You know that, don't you? I didn't write that.'

Q. Was that number a chance selection?

A. No (written in large characters with pencil pressed heavily).

Q. Has that number the same significance as the answers you have been writing? (pointing to the previous answer, 'No, not yet.').

A. Yes (written emphatically).

Q. What do you think when I write (suiting the action to the word) '7 plus 1 equals 8 which is the reason for saying 35'?

As this was written, she declared, 'I just got a wild desire to snicker and I don't know why. You are so serious and it seems so silly.' But as she was making this statement, her hand was writing automatically, 'You know too much', concluding the writing by banging the pencil down to form a period. This attracted her attention and she read it over and over in an abstracted puzzled fashion, glancing up from time to time, trying to speak but apparently blocking each time, glancing down at the writing immediately each time the words failed to come.

After some patient waiting:

Q. Has that (pointing to the written equation) got anything to do with the instructions given in the last trance?

A. (Verbally) Last trance, why, I can't remember—last trance, which one—what happened—I—I—

Here she was interrupted by her hand again banging the pencil on the desk, and she became aware consciously that she had written, 'You are too wise'. She read it aloud, glanced at the experimenter, repeated it, and said, 'Why, my hand must mean you—that's impertinent.—Just like this is (pointing to

the 'You know too much'). I don't mean to be disrespectful—it isn't me—it's my hand (a pause). Why, you and my hand are talking to each other—what are you talking about—tell me—tell me.' Here the subject became so insistent that the experimenter was forced to yield.

Q. Would you like to know?

A. Yes (pause) tell her.

Q. Will you tell her?

A. No (pause) you.

During this questioning the subject watched her hand in a fascinated fashion and seemed greatly puzzled by the replies her hand was giving.

Q. How many times have you written, 'Twas a dark and dreary night'?

A. (Verbally) I wrote it 7 times—but what has that got—oooh, oooh, I wrote it 8 times—I forgot—you told me when I was asleep to forget everything—I only forgot part—I remember now—I wrote it here (searching the paper and identifying the writing correctly) see 7 and 1 more that makes 8, just like you said, but what has that got to do with 35?

Q. Will you tell her?

A. No—you (automatic writing).

Q. I will tell her but you fill in my explanation.

My explanation was: 'Look at 35—you see three, five.' Here the subject interrupted, 'Oh, I see it now. You told me to forget everything in the last trance and you rapped on the desk and I wrote and I remembered that I wrote it—I didn't forget it and I wanted to tell you that. I still remembered that I had written it 8 times but I only remembered writing it 7 times, if you get what I mean, and when you asked me to give a number I thought I was just giving any number. But now I can see that I was telling you 8 times, and I was worried that you wouldn't understand, and when you wrote "7 plus 1 equals 8" which is the reason for saying 35" I knew you understood, and I thought you were too smart. No, that isn't what I said, I

wrote "you are too wise" but I meant too smart. I just told you 35 because that meant 8 times. I can see it just as plain now.'

The subject then stated that as she had written the two 'impertinent' statements she had had a 'wild desire to snicker' but had controlled herself for fear of giving offense, and that this desire had been replaced by a sense of elation and satisfaction.

Summary of Protocol II.

1. Request of a young female graduate student to be hypnotized and to be taught automatic writing.
2. Unsuccessful effort to hypnotize her.
3. Pretense of abandoning this effort.
4. Spontaneous sleep.
5. Spontaneous sleep converted into hypnotic sleep.
6. Forceful deepening of hypnotic sleep with induction of vigorous activity.
7. First automatic writing, consisting of irrelevant phrases while day-dreaming.
8. Post-hypnotic suggestion to write a special post-hypnotic phrase, whenever a tapping signal was given.
9. At this point, the subject was put through a complicated series of maneuvers, some of them while awake but under the guidance of a post-hypnotic suggestion, some of them under superinduced repetitions of the hypnotic state. During the course of these complicated tests, on eight occasions she wrote down the post-hypnotic test phrase in response to the tapping signal.
10. Finally, while asleep she was given the suggestion that she should remember nothing of the entire evening's experience except the fact that she had been in a hypnotic trance once. The obedience to this command was used as the experimental test situation.
11. Quiet sleep for several minutes, then awakened.
12. Asked how often she had been in an hypnotic state, she struggled against the suggestion (10), but acknowledged that

she had a strong impulsion to say 'once' although she knew it was more than that.

13. Finally came the number test with a concealed double meaning. When asked to say the first number she thought of, she said 'thirty-five' and could give no reason for saying it.

14. Series of steps by which the point was made clear to the hypnotist and to the subject, that 35 was an elliptical and secretive method of writing, 'three plus five equals eight', to indicate the number of times which she had written the post-hypnotic phrase. During this phase the patient's replies were divided so completely as almost to indicate a split into two organized egos, her conscious ego and the unconscious pseudo-ego organized around her automatic writing hand.

Discussion.

For a definite reason these somewhat rambling observations were made without a carefully prearranged program. Their immediate goal was simply to demonstrate experimentally, and beyond any possible doubt, the fact that consciously chosen words, thoughts, and acts can mean more than one thing at a time: their conscious or manifest content on the one hand, and a latent unconscious content on the other. Thus in these experiments what has long been known to be true for dreams is shown to be true for other human psychic processes. The more significant ultimate purpose of these random observations, however, was to seek out ways in which the technique of hypnotism and more particularly of automatic writing could be used for experimental purposes, and to suggest specific problems to which they might be applied. The experiments give rise therefore to various somewhat heterogeneous reflections.

1. In the first experiment, one is struck by the versatility of the unconscious with respect to the methods which it employs in order to dissimulate its purposes. The technique illustrated in the first protocol offers an opportunity to study the relationship between specific types of normal or neurotic characters,

and the various methods of unconscious dissimulation which different neurotic types habitually employ.

The development of such a study in relation to the personality as a whole necessitates a simultaneous study of the subject by psychoanalysis.

2. In the first experiment, devices are used unconsciously which are familiar to us chiefly in humor. It would seem, therefore, that humorlessly and quite without conscious comic intent, the unconscious can use irony, punning, and the technique of the puzzle. In short, the techniques of conscious humor are an earnest and serious matter in unconscious psychic processes. This is always particularly disconcerting when weighty and significant problems are treated by means of unconsciously chosen representatives and devices which to our conscious judgments seem ridiculous and trivial. This has been observed repeatedly in dream analysis and it is clearly demonstrated here in automatic writing and hypnosis. There are few findings in the field of psychoanalysis, or its experimental study through hypnotism, which excite more scepticism than does this observation.

3. In the second experiment described above, two other interesting facts are presented for consideration:

a. The seemingly unmotivated elation which arose when the subject put over a secret and unconscious defiance suggests a mechanism for certain types of elations in patients.

b. The particular kind of block in thinking which was produced during the course of the experiment is strongly reminiscent of thinking difficulties observable in school children. There is a hint here that the further elaboration of this type of investigation may be of use to educators in the problems of some children who, despite good native gifts, fail in academic studies.

In conclusion we may say that these experiments demonstrate not merely the coexistence of hidden meanings in conscious acts, but also carry the promise of usefulness for an experimental attack on many significant problems. It is obvi-

ous, however, that all such work demands a close collaboration between those familiar with experimental work in the field of hypnosis and those familiar with the psychoanalytic technique. For adequate development of the applications of such experiments to the problems involved in understanding psychic dynamisms, it would be advisable to have the subjects under psychoanalytic study in order to observe fully their reactions to the experimental procedure, to determine the influence of the experiment upon the subject and to throw light on analytic theory and its applications.

A CHILDHOOD ANXIETY

BY WILLIAM G. BARRETT (BOSTON)

The subject of these observations is a boy of three and a half years. The observations were made by the parents of the child, chiefly by the mother who from time to time reported the material during daily interviews with the writer. The resolution of the fear came through certain experiences with his parents and a piece of spontaneous play.

The events with which we are concerned begin with the child's interest in knives and scissors. He wished to handle them himself but earnestly followed instructions to be careful with them. He would frequently speak of knives or ask whether scissors might cut off his fingers or his nose. At the beginning of this preoccupation he inquired at least once whether his penis might be cut off. Despite repeated reassurances that none of these things would happen and that such things never were done, he continued from time to time to ask the same questions and began to show an increasing concern regarding scratches and minor cuts. He became particularly anxious about blood and, when at this time he heard the story of *The Three Little Pigs*, asked obsessively about the Big Bad Wolf with evidences of fear, similar to that which he felt of the knives and scissors.

About this time a revealing incident occurred one evening during his bath. For some months his sister, two years his junior, had shared the tub with him, and during these months he had never commented on their anatomical difference. One evening, however, he called attention to his penis and asked if his mother had one too. His mother replied that he had seen her without clothes and must know she did not, and added that all boys have penises and that girls never do. At this he quickly pointed toward his sister's genitals and said, 'But Polly has one'. He insisted several times that this was true and seemed

to accept the evidence of his eyes only when his mother steadfastly refused to change her opinion.

We see in this incident the typical and well-known fantasy of male children—the refusal to believe that anyone can be without a penis. However, with his mother's support and reassurance the boy was able apparently to accept this reality; at least he never again stated that his sister possessed a penis. His general state of anxiety continued nonetheless, but it was the wolf now that became the chief focus of his terror instead of knives and scissors. From time to time he would say, 'I think there is a wolf over there', indicating a corner of the room. He looked apprehensive but when his parents said they could not see a wolf, the situation turned into one of play. He still asserted that the wolf was there but the anxiety was gone, and amusement and laughter had taken its place. This game was repeated several times a week, especially in the evening when the father was at home. One evening the child was sitting on a footstool looking up at his father who was sprawled in a chair. The talk was desultory and the wolf had not been mentioned. It was observed that the little boy's eyes fell to his father's genital region and that he stared in this direction for several seconds. Then abruptly he looked past his father's shoulder towards a dark corner and said, 'There's a wolf over there'. The usual wolf game followed. In connection with this incident the father recalled that when two years old, the boy had seen him naked and had looked at his genitals in a similar way. On that occasion the child had opened his mouth as though with an impulse to bite, but had quickly suppressed the gesture, and had turned away.

To the child, the danger from the wolf was always experienced as a fear of being bitten. Therefore, it would seem entirely justifiable to assert that what he could see lurking in obscure corners represented a dangerous biting phallus. Although he may have imagined this as being on his sister's body, on his mother's body, or in his father's trousers, he represented it in the fantasy of the wolf. In its most recent rôle

the wolf was specifically his father's phallus and since the Big Bad Wolf had been chosen to represent this, the organ itself obviously had acquired a dangerous and threatening significance. It seems that he must have projected onto the phallus his own impulse to bite and, as a displacement, the Big Bad Wolf served admirably. His world suddenly teemed with visible and invisible hairy biting penises of which he lived in constant terror.

The observation of the child's own biting wish had occurred shortly before the birth of the younger sister in a period of anticipatory jealousy over her expected arrival. During this pregnancy, and neither before nor afterwards, the boy had stepped on his mother's abdomen and had struck it with his hands. At the time there was evidence that this heightened jealousy also was expressed in terms of conflicting oral wishes. For instance, not long after the sister's arrival he was offered his first strawberry. He put it to his mouth and took it away several times, his distress increasing each time until he burst into tears. However, when his father showed him that he could bite and eat the berry, the conflict was resolved and he ate it with evident pleasure. In view of all the contemporary data it seemed probable that the child identified the strawberry both with the penis and with the breast. Now, however, at the age of three and one-half he was no longer the jealous, biting aggressor; he was in fear of being bitten by a wolf and it is evident that this fear was linked directly to his father, to his father's genitals, and to a fear of losing his own penis.

One evening several weeks after the incident of the bath and while the wolf anxiety was active, the little boy was granted the special privilege of sitting up with his parents while they ate dinner. A heap of mashed potatoes was brought in with fried sausages standing erect and embedded in the edge of the potatoes. The child viewed this with evident astonishment and as his mother was being served, he shyly inquired what it was and asked whether the sausages could be *fæces*. (At a year and a quarter the little boy had tasted *fæces* with an expression

indicating dislike. This had occurred while he was playing naked on the grass and was not again observed—whether merely because of lack of opportunity or for another reason is not known.) He was told what they were but when offered a taste he refused. This was for him a wholly unusual response since previously he had always been eager to sample whatever his parents ate. After a few minutes he accepted a taste but the continuance of his conflict was apparent from his expression as he grudgingly admitted that it had tasted good.

The following day the boy was playing in the snow. His mother noticed that he had diligently built a high wall of snow around a lump of coal. He appeared engrossed in his game and unusually pleased with it. When questioned about this he explained that the coal was the wolf and that he was putting it into a cage from which it could never escape. When the wall was safely finished he was seen to toss small bits of snow on to the coal. He told his mother he was feeding the wolf and when asked what he was feeding to it, answered with great relish, 'Sausages'. Somewhat similar games of penning up the wolf followed and apparently through this play the wolf lost its exclusive position as the fearsome paternal (totem) animal. The boy's interest spread to other animals and to all the facts he could learn about them. The apprehensiveness lest any dangerous animals were in his vicinity and lest they bite continued, but the anxiety about the wolf was replaced by curiosity and fearsome animals no longer lurked in dark corners.

The problem which arises out of this simple observation is as significant as any in the whole field of psychoanalysis, to wit, the question as to how the transient phobias of childhood spontaneously dissipate and resolve themselves. Until the question can be thoroughly answered, it will not be known why in other cases the phobias persist. Undoubtedly, however, many similar instances will have to be studied carefully before a general answer can be given.

In this particular case it is possible to follow with exceptional transparency the stages in the evolution of the child's fear.

First came his own jealous, angry, and dangerous impulse to bite, an impulse directed in part, at least, towards his father's phallus. Not long after that came an obsessive interest in sharp cutting instruments and an increasing fear of what they might do to him. Then came his concern about whether or not his sister possessed a penis and immediately afterwards a sharp refocusing of castration anxieties onto his father's genitals and a quick translation of this into fear of a hairy, biting animal. At this critical moment the child had an experience of magical significance to him: he saw both of his parents eating objects which looked to him like fæcal phalli—and what was even more important, he was encouraged to eat the same fare himself and found it good. The very next day he put his wolf in prison, and fed it a similar diet. He had lost his fear of it and, asked what was the wolf's name, he answered with a broad smile, 'Me'.

Clearly this contains the nucleus of the whole experience. He has wanted to bite something—first presumably a breast, later his father's penis. He has endowed these objects with his own impulses: they will bite him. He has represented this danger by the Big Bad Wolf. But since he has this impulse and this capacity to bite, he too is the wolf. Furthermore he has eaten fæcal phalli himself, has put the wolf in a prison from which it can never escape, and has appeased it in turn by feeding it fæcal phalli (snow sausages). The circle would seem to be complete.

In this happy resolution of the fear, play was the technic, but what were the forces which made it effective? What made the father's phallus less ominous, the sister's lack of a phallus less terrifying, and the child more powerful? How can we discover (or what evidence is there) whether the child has merely bribed the captive wolf into temporary peacefulness or whether he has really become free from the fears which it represented?

A year and a half later the boy is free from the specific anxieties described above but shows a somewhat exaggerated timidity about his body. The removal of splinters costs him

great anguish and he allows only his mother to do this. When in swimming he is concerned with the topic of what animals there are that might bite him, and he fantasies killing whales and sharks 'because they eat people'; he delights in catching eels, clams, scallops, and crabs and insists upon eating everything he catches.

Quite evidently these fears in childhood must be allayed not once only but over and over again as they arise in many and varied forms.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEUROTIC PERSONALITY OF OUR TIME. By Karen Horney. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937. 299 pp.

The author introduces her book by stating her orientation towards the problem of neurosis, with emphasis upon her deviations from Freud's concepts. These are the following: she does not consider the actual conflicts of the patient as a mere repetition of infantile emotional situations because the relations between childhood experiences and the later life situation is more intricate than 'is assumed by those psychoanalysts who proclaim a simple cause and effect relationship'; furthermore she believes in the primary importance of cultural influences upon the development of neuroses as compared with biological determinants; and finally she stresses the central rôle that anxiety plays in neuroses.

The first two points (the relation of infantile experiences to the actual life situation and the relation of sociological to biological factors) immediately arouse the reader's interest because here the author raises two issues in which psychoanalytic theory needs further thorough investigation. The third point, the recognition of anxiety as the dynamic center of repression, of defense mechanisms and consequently of neurosis, is of course the essence of Freud's contributions in the last eleven years.

The book deals with the first two problems more summarily and mainly in the form of reasoning, whereas the most valuable part of this book is undoubtedly the author's well digested observations and comments concerning the psychology of anxiety, the fruits of rich clinical experience, of an independent, scrutinizing mind.

One welcomes the emphasis on the fact that behind the great variety of neurotic phenomena and neurotic personalities there can be recognized a few common emotional conflict situations which appear in variations in different clinical pictures. Yet after reading this book one remains in the same ignorance as before regarding the question whether these universal features of neurotic personalities represent certain fundamental patterns of human nature, or are due to the common cultural influences to which the majority of our patients are exposed. There are almost no detailed observations described in the book regarding the specific influences

of different cultural patterns upon typical conflict situations. For this of course, the author cannot be blamed. Sufficient observations regarding this question do not exist. She assigns a study of this problem to sociologists, stating that she is not one. But even sociologists cannot at present solve the question of the different ways in which basic, biologically determined, human nature can be modified in different cultural milieus so long as comparative analytic studies of individuals brought up in different civilizations are not available. The simple antithesis—biological structure versus cultural influences—as the author puts it at the beginning of her book, is unfortunate and contradictory to the polycausal or functional approach which every science adopts in the course of its development.

Freud's formulation that with the change of culture the content of neuroses and psychoses accordingly changes, refutes the author's accusations that Freud disregards any 'qualitative' influences of cultural neuroses. The question is how profound this influence is and in what different ways it manifests itself. One agrees with Horney's request that the physiological factors of neuroses should be considered only 'on the basis of well established evidence'. The same request is of course valid also for the evaluation of cultural factors. The experimental work of Pavlov's school concerning the influence of frustration, conditioning and reconditioning in animals represents a most promising approach to the study of certain fundamental physiological mechanisms in their relation to neuroses. Although one can hardly expect at present similarly exact studies concerning the influence of cultural patterns, the author's polemical stress upon the influence of cultural factors demonstrates the need for thorough investigations in this field. Even after reading this book the majority of both expert and lay readers will continue to be convinced that there is a biological ground-structure which in certain basic features is similar in man and animals: the helpless young animal, like the human child, seeks support and dependence when exposed to danger, and yet resents the influence of external restriction whether it be that of drill, domestication or education.

A great part of the book is devoted to the demonstration of one fundamental emotional sequence, which Horney considers most typical for our present civilization: hostile aggressive competitive tendencies lead to isolation and fear, and increase the wish for

dependence, the demand for being loved, and through being loved for being freed from fears and isolation; in turn the dependence and subordination into which the individual flees from his fears hurt his self-esteem (because success in competitive combat is the contemporary ideal) and drive him again into competitiveness and self-assertion. This most typical vicious circle is well known. It has been repeatedly described, very early by Freud in his analysis of the emotional sources of passive homosexuality and of paranoia. The importance of this vicious circle—hostility, fear, dependence, reactive hostility—in criminal behavior, has been demonstrated before by other authors. Horney's presentation of this oscillation between competitive hostility, fear, and love-seeking, passive subordination is however most comprehensive; her description of this basic conflict situation in different clinical pictures and in typical neurotic behavior is impressive and, as was said before, the most valuable contribution of her book. The author's clinical ability, and her sense for psychological connections come here to fullest expression. Her psychological descriptions are not schematic, as is unfortunately so common in psychoanalytic literature, and are not deductively concluded, but based on actual observation of psychological relationships. Here is no formalistic acceptance of theoretical abstractions but independent observation, real grasp of human relationships, no dissection of the individual behavior into isolated mechanisms but the attempt to understand the patient as a whole.

The reviewer agrees with the author's view that this vicious circle which drives the individual from competitiveness into a passive help-seeking attitude, and from there back again into hostile competitiveness, is a most fundamental one and omnipresent in our patients. The author's contention however that this conflict is typical for a specific civilization and is not biologically determined is not very convincing. Competition in the biological world is ubiquitous and the fear arising during competitive battle similarly so. The help- and support-seeking attitude as a reaction to fear appears also as a fundamental feature not only of human but of animal nature and especially is present in the helpless young biological individual. Horney questions the infantile sources of this dependent help-seeking attitude without being very convincing in her arguments. On the other hand, it is probable that our specifically individualistic competitive civilization may intensify

this basic human conflict by increasing the feeling of isolation, insecurity and fear, and consequently the opposite tendency to seek security by being loved and cared for.

It is not quite comprehensible why Horney militates against the well-established concept that the flight from struggle toward dependence is a regressive phenomenon, a regression towards the security of the child-parent relationship. Her denial of the infantile sources of this dependent attitude can be explained only by the fact that if the author were to admit that we deal here with a regression to the child-parent relationship, she would have to concede a nonsociological but a universal biological factor. The relative helplessness of the newborn infant can hardly be considered a sociological factor that is determined by a specific cultural structure. Thus the author who starts out with an emphatic polemic against Freud's alleged concept that culture has only a quantitative and not a qualitative influence upon neuroses, cannot herself demonstrate more than the intensification of a seemingly universal human conflict through our competitive civilization.

In two chapters the book deals with the problems of neurotic guilt feelings and masochism. The author validly differentiates between neurotic suffering which is the unavoidable result of neurosis and neurotic suffering which is intentional and serves certain psychological aims. Concerning this second aspect of neurotic suffering, many readers will probably object to the author's attempt to explain all guilt-reactions from object-relationships with too little regard to the structuralization of the adult personality. The most important fact that suffering is not only an appeal for the sympathy of others but also an appeal to one's own critical self, that it alleviates guilt, provokes self-pity, etc., is not sufficiently taken into consideration. One wonders how, with this disregard for the finer intrapsychic dynamics of guilt phenomena, the author can explain to herself the complicated structure of a compulsion neurosis or such a phenomenon as suicide. The second of these chapters (on masochism) contains however an interesting contribution to the psychology of masochism. In her dissatisfaction with the biological explanation of masochism (death instinct), the author searches for further psychological features of this phenomenon and discovers what she calls its 'Dionysian' com-

ponent. In submitting himself to another person—one important feature of masochism—the individual seeks a way out of his isolation by self-relinquishment and surrender as the opposite of, and a reaction to, individualistic self-assertion.

The reviewer feels that this book suffers from an over-stressed polemical trend which is not always justified by its content. In fact its main thesis, the rôle of fear in neuroses (especially the fear of losing love) and the close relationship between fear and hostile aggressions, are but an elaboration of Freud's latest formulations, no matter how independently the author may have come to the same conclusions. Only this polemical attitude can explain the author's belief in the novelty of her statement that 'hostile impulses of various kinds form the main source from which neurotic anxiety springs', since Freud already in *The Problem of Anxiety* and more explicitly in *Civilization and Its Discontents* came to similar conclusions regarding the close relationship between neurotic anxiety and hostility and there has long been little doubt among psychoanalysts regarding the validity of this connection. According to Freud neurotic anxiety is a reaction to an internal danger represented by instinctual tensions. In *Civilization and Its Discontents* he definitely excludes libidinal tensions as the *direct* causes of this fear of internal danger which most commonly appears as a sense of guilt. These direct causes he finds in the aggressive impulses *only* (p. 131). The author's belief in the novelty of her recognition of this close relationship between hostile aggression and anxiety may also come from the fact that she certainly did not learn this relationship from books but from independent clinical observation.

Her polemical fervor involves the author in many theoretical arguments which detract attention from her valuable contributions: the fine descriptions of emotional connections. Here her independent, scrutinizing attitude, uninfluenced by accepted abstractions, shows its constructive side. She studies the material with her own clinically trained eyes and is never satisfied with 'mechanisms' but only with well understood psychological connections. Here lies her strength and her contribution toward counteracting a current trend to substitute theoretical abstractions for psychological understanding.

FRANZ ALEXANDER (CHICAGO)

INTRODUCTION TO THE RORSCHACH METHOD. (A MANUAL OF PERSONALITY STUDY.) By Samuel J. Beck, Ph.D. Monograph No. 1 of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1937. 278 pp.

During the past five years interest in the Rorschach test in this country has increased rapidly to the point where at the present time not only are there frequent publications on the test in the standard psychiatric and psychological journals, but even a separate Rorschach Research Exchange dealing solely with technical and other problems of the method. Most of the English and American workers in this field, however, have been more at home in academic psychology than in clinical psychiatry, and it is perhaps for this reason that the practical diagnostic and prognostic value of the test, as well as its many theoretical implications for the study of normal and abnormal personality structure and functioning, are still unknown to the majority of psychiatrists and psychoanalysts.

Dr. Beck's monograph, the result of many years of painstaking work with the test, is concerned primarily with problems of technique, particularly with the establishment of more objective norms in scoring. He states that 'the sole aim of the present volume is to provide a manual of Rorschach test procedure as followed by the writer and intended to be helpful in the practical application of Rorschach tests, whether in experimental or diagnostic undertakings. . . . Theoretical discussion is conspicuous by absence.' It will be apparent from this quotation that the book cannot well serve as a general introduction to the Rorschach method for those individuals who have neither the time nor the interest to become Rorschach practitioners, but who wish to be able to evaluate its potentialities in psychiatric and psychological practice and theory. For the active Rorschach worker, however, whether beginner or expert, the volume is a valuable addition to the literature. The main body of the text consists of fifty-nine complete Rorschach response records, scored and interpreted, with comments on some of the difficulties involved in these procedures. The material selected comprises healthy adults of superior intelligence, feeble-minded, depressed and hypomanic states, schizophrenics, neurotics, 'problem children', adults with conduct disorders, and 'mental hygiene cases'. The second portion of the monograph includes an

exposition of the experimental technique, a fairly detailed discussion of special aspects of scoring, with provisional tables of norms, and a brief chapter on interpretation.

The clinical arrangement of the material has the advantage of giving the uninitiated reader some idea of the differential diagnostic possibilities of the method. Although some of the scoring and a few of the interpretations appear questionable to the reviewer, the examples given represent on the whole orthodox Rorschach technique, with some additional interesting features already introduced by the author in previous publications. In almost no case does Dr. Beck appear to us to have utilized to the utmost the very rich response records at his disposal in really exhaustive diagnostic and personality studies, but as far as they go the interpretations are objective and well presented, and should be most instructive to the beginning student of the test. The scientific value of the records would have been enhanced by the inclusion of case histories and non-Rorschach personality estimates to compare with the interpretations, not so much for the purpose of validation of the method, which is not one of the objects of this publication, as to enable the reader to make his own correlations between the tests and the actual available facts. As it is, the author merely states that 'the clinical findings were taken as the only authority in determining diagnosis' and that 'the response records here included furnish personality descriptions which conform in their principal features with those obtained from non-Rorschach sources' (excluding a few inadequate records).

A discussion of the contributions of Rorschach to formal psychopathology, one of the most fruitful of the many theoretical applications of the method, and of the complex interrelationships between the test and psychoanalytic theory would obviously have gone beyond the aim of the book as outlined by the author. The reader interested in these problems will have to consult other sources, in particular the writings of Rorschach and Oberholzer. Dr. Beck's monograph succeeds thoroughly in its objective, and will unquestionably be of great help to all interested in the further development of the test. The volume is attractively printed, with only a few typographical errors, and well indexed. Dr. Wells contributes an enlightening preface.

JOHN D. BENJAMIN (DENVER)

EINFLUSS DER GEMÜTSBEWEGUNG AUF DEN KÖRPER. AFFEKTPHYSIOLOGIE UND ORGANNEUROSEN. (Influence of Emotion on the Body. The Physiology of Emotion and the Organic Neuroses.) By Dr. Erich Wittkower. Leipzig und Wien: Sensen Verlag, 1936. 187 pp.

After Dunbar's *Emotion and Bodily Changes*, a complete review of the last ten years' literature on the subject, any further work on this topic would seem superfluous. However, as the author points out in his introduction, the goal of the present volume goes further. It aims to organize clinically the proven factual material on psychosomatic relationships, in order to enrich future experiments on an exact clinical basis, thereby interesting physicians in psychophysical and psychotherapeutic problems. The author is well known for the great number of his own works on psychosomatic relationships which he has presented in past years in clinical and experimental papers and which have now been coördinated in this volume. On the basis of his special interest in the influence of emotion on the skin, more than one third of the context is devoted to the psychogalvanic phenomenon, while the remaining portion discusses the influence of emotion on the respiratory system, the spleen, the blood, the secretion of urine and the endocrine glands. With a record of more than 500 of his own cases, the author again finds that the course of organic functions can be changed essentially by psychical and, in particular, emotional effects, and that a knowledge of emotional reactions makes it possible to understand the field of organic functions in general and the so-called organic neuroses in particular.

The psychological findings from this case material make no new contributions to psychoanalysis. Essentially, traumatic experiences in the nature of strong mental excitement are stressed as precipitating factors for the genesis of symptoms of the organic neuroses. As a motive for the illness, the author accepts a heightened striving for compensation in conflict with an organic inferiority already present as well as inferiority feelings, just as readily as he accepts analytical points of view. But one has the impression that he means here not the psychical structure but the manifest sexual disposition of the neurotic. In any case, in the chapter on respiratory disturbances, for example, he writes: 'For orthodox psychoanalysis, asthma is a sexual neurosis. Even for the non-analyst the

significance of sexual momenta in the pathogenesis of asthma is unmistakable. Of 32 of our patients in whom the psychological determination of asthma could be established, conscious sexual conflicts were shown in 9 cases.' The psychological disposition is more easily recognized in the summary of the author's investigation of the psychogalvanic phenomenon. He feels that psychogalvanic reactivity is a mode of expression of temperament and character. Similarly, he thinks that the phenomenon is more sensitive than introspection. It reveals unconscious affects also which, particularly on a high emotional level, take on freudian symbolic values. The author holds that the psychogalvanic phenomenon is applicable to the analysis of healthy as well as neurotic personalities. He believes he has proved that 'highly reactive persons have attacks mostly with reference to instinct and egoism'. Most frequent are attacks which have reference to actual unpleasurable or pleasurable experiences. 'In a comparison of introvertive (*Ich-bezüglich eingestellte*) with predominantly extrovertive (*Object-bezüglich*) persons, it may be demonstrated that attacks with reference to instinct, wish, and egoism, prevail in the case of introverts.'

The author believes that the task of further investigation will be to prove that there exists in the biology of emotion a typical relationship, already established constitutionally and probably influenced conditionally; and that, on the basis of this, one can arrive at the empirical total dynamics of special emotions or emotional occurrences.

On the whole it is a comprehensive volume and fulfils the task of furthering interest in psychophysical problems.

FELIX DEUTSCH (BOSTON)

BEYOND NORMAL COGNITION. By John F. Thomas, Ph.D. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1937. 310 pp.

The experiments upon which this study was based were sponsored by the Department of Psychology at Duke University where for the past few years experiments in psychic research ('parapsychology') have been conducted. The phenomena including telepathy, clairvoyance, apparitions, trance, and others, are considered *supernormal* and have been defined as lying outside the scope of generally recognized scientific laws. The aim of the experiments at Duke University is to study these phenomena scientifically. Recent work by Professor Rhine and his associates with a simple test consisting of a

pack of twenty-five cards, each one bearing on its face one of five designs, seems to indicate that certain individuals possess a gift of extra-sensory perception that is amazingly accurate.

Dr. Thomas' book is 'An Evaluation and Methodical Study of the Mental Content of Certain Trance Phenomena'. It differs from previous similar studies in that all but two of the twenty-four mediumistic records reported were secured in 'absent sittings' when the person to whom the information was pertinent was some thousands of miles distant; second, the records were analyzed into topics and points for mathematical scoring; third, the study was made under university direction and was accepted as a doctor's thesis in the Duke University Department of Psychology.

Briefly the procedure is as follows: The medium or 'sensitive', as Dr. Thomas prefers to call her, knows nothing about her client. There is no reason to doubt the honesty of the sitter, the sensitive, or the person who makes a stenographic report of the proceedings. A sitting with Mrs. Leonard, an English sensitive, is described in part as follows:

One point that should be mentioned about the seating arrangements, however, is that my position, relative to Mrs. Leonard, was such that she could not observe any gestures or changes in facial expression by me without turning her head. I did not detect this either time that I met with her, nor did I note her eyes open at any time.

There was a brief conversation on conventional topics, such as the gardens about the house. Then Mrs. Leonard went suddenly into a sleep state or trance, but remained seated upright while she continued to talk in a rapid childish voice. This sleep personality of Mrs. Leonard calls herself "Feda".

It must at this point be explained that Dr. Thomas' interest in psychic research was stimulated by the death of his wife in 1926. Already a man in middle life, he had had for many years an important post as chief administrator of the educational system of a large city. He gave up his work and entered Duke University to obtain a doctorate in psychology for the purpose of better pursuing his interest in psychic research.

The messages given by the sensitives are from Dr. Thomas' wife, the 'she' referred to in the records. A sample record reads as follows:

Record, L. 116: "Wait a minute. There was a picture? I don't know; I will tell him. Now she is saying that there is a picture of this place, and she is not talking of one that you have got. Oh, how funny.

She wants you very specially to remember this. She is bringing this in now because she was afraid of forgetting it, and yet it is as if she has gone off what you call the track a bit. But it is so important. She has got such a strong feeling that you are going to be shown or to see a picture of this place, like a photograph of it. I don't think she means of the house, do you see, but of the surroundings." (J. F. T.: "I see.") "So will you remember that?" (J. F. T.: "Yes, we will note that down, of course.") "Yes, Murul has got it down, but she was so afraid she would forget it if she left it till after and sometimes they like to give something that is not in your mind."

Note: Soon after I returned to Detroit from London, and previous to any mention by me of the above quotation, a daughter-in-law, Florence, gave me an aeroplane view of Orchard Lake and its surrounding lakes that she had clipped from a newspaper for me. It appeared in the rotogravure section of the Detroit News, on May 22nd, 1927. The picture and the circumstances fit the following statements of the record: (1) "She is not talking of one that you have got;" (2) "You are going to be shown or see a picture of this place, like a photograph of it;" (3) "I don't think she means of this house, do you see, but of the surroundings."

Total, 3: Correct 3.

This record is a fair sample. The reader is struck as much by the trivial content of the messages as he is by the verifiable data. The childish voice and mode of expression of the sensitive will impress the psychoanalyst as important to be noted. Also to be considered is the fact that Dr. Thomas, like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Sir Oliver Lodge, and others, became interested in psychic research as a means of communicating with someone very close who had died. However in his conclusion, Dr. Thomas states fairly: "The survivalist theory covers all the facts, but it is not necessitated by the evidence available in this book, because of the possibility of the alternative extended mind-reading explanation."

To the reviewer's knowledge there have been but two psychoanalytic contributions to the subject of extra-sensory perception: the recent one from Freud¹ and one by Helene Deutsch.² Perhaps because of the apparent non-mechanistic character of the phenomena presented, there have been until very recently few men with scientific training who have had the courage to develop an interest in this *terra incognita* of the mind.

R. G.

¹ Freud: Chapter 2. Dreams and the Occult, Lecture XXX. *New Introductory Lectures On Psychoanalysis*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1933.

² Deutsch, Helene: *Okkulte Vorgänge während der Psychoanalyse*. Imago. XII, 418-433.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHIATRY. By William S. Sadler.
St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1936. 1,156 pp.

This book purports in its preface to be a practical text book for the psychiatrist, the general practitioner, and 'other trained men and women who may be desirous of doing something, directly or indirectly, in the fields of preventive and curative psychiatry', for instance, 'sociologists, psychologists, religious teachers, clergymen, priests, and rabbis, together with trained nurses' and finally 'professional readers of all classes'. Its mission is to fill a gap left by the 'dearth of practical literature dealing with the non-psychotic groups of nervous disorders' to '*divest mental hygiene of many of its psychiatric mysteries and deliver it from the "confusion of tongues"—the sectarian clamorings—that have served to obscure the "common-sense" methods of study and practice which the rank and file of the profession are well qualified to undertake if they are once delivered from the "mystifications" of the multifarious teachings of the conflicting specialized schools of psychiatry*'.¹ Thus bravely does the author set forth, and we are pleased to find that he represents by no means a solitary, doctrinaire point of view, but is spokesman for a most respectable group of fellow practitioners. 'This book in general follows the psychiatric concepts of what might be called "The American School of Psychiatry".' 'It is founded on the common-sense propositions put forth at about the beginning of the century by Adolf Meyer, and in the intervening years has gathered to itself the majority of the broader-minded practitioners of the specialized schools of medical psychology.' The principles which guide this new approach and which are based on the corner-stone of common sense are outlined in an historical introduction where the different Schools of Psychiatry are serially discussed, Psychoanalysis—the Freudian School of Psychology being the first, and The American School of Psychiatry being the eighth and last, while the intervening sections are allotted to Adler, Jung, Watson, McDougall, *Gestalt* psychology and ergasiology (Meyer). Thus it should be noted that Sadler's outlook on the problems raised by psychiatry is intrinsically, broadly speaking, political rather than scientific, whose policy of common sense is a distrust in the infallibility of individual reasoning and a reliance on the concurrence of opinion. In a footnote (p. 38), he speaks of his

¹ All italics are those of the author.

point of view as, 'this attempt to formulate the attitude of psychiatric "middle-of-the-roaders".'

In keeping with Sadler's adherence in psychopathological theory to the axiom of the application of common sense, there is a second principle on which he relies to cut the Gordian knot of the neuroses. This is, briefly, that egotistical motives which run counter to social responsibility, and do not procure for themselves a permissible and recognized outlet, often seek to disguise their true color under the masquerade of illness. That this statement is accurate and to an important degree contributory to the preservation of neurosis, is undoubtedly true and has received due consideration in the writings of all psychiatrists, including Freud who in no way underestimates the influence of the 'secondary gain'. But, to insist that it suffices to explain the etiology of neurosis is to ignore the existence of the unconscious. To be sure, a comforting corollary may be based on such an assumption, namely that the neurotic patient who declines to follow the injunction of his psychiatric mentor, and cast off his shuffling pretenses, is really an immoral person, and has no just ground for complaint because of his own incompetence and indolence. This theme is elaborated under the term Reality Attitude, a phrase which is misleading, for by it Sadler means the reality created by the individual's obligation to the community, and not the usual meaning attached to it by most writers. A few remarks, chosen at random, will serve to illustrate his point of view.

In the discussion of The Hysterias Sadler writes: 'Just as a psychasthenia indicates more or less incapacity to face reality, a neurasthenia—particularly the anxiety neuroses—the conflict with reality, so the hysterias, that is a clinical group, *represent flight from reality*, and, to continue the classification, the psychoses represent a more or less complete escape from reality'. 'True hysterics do not want to really be cured. They have come to make a business of getting out of difficulties by means of their flight into hysteria' (p. 677). 'After a careful examination and study of the patient, the physician should sit down and *tell him the truth about himself*' (p. 675). 'The fundamental technique of the hysteric is to resort to the flight into sickness or other disqualifying disturbances in an effort to escape from disagreeable and unpleasant reality situations of everyday life.' Under Routine Management we find the following suggestion: 'Consequential penalties—in rare cases,

even physical punishment may be necessary. This is especially true of children and youths.' We understand this last more readily when we begin to grasp Sadler's view of hysteria. The hysteric to him is essentially a bad child who has never grown up. The most important cause of hysteria is '*A lack of proper training in the nursery*'. He says, 'We might very logically regard all children, especially the younger ones, as normally and naturally hysteric'. Improper education, then, is largely responsible for the neuroses. 'Nervous children who are brought up in narrow channels, or who are subject to the teachings of faddists and extremists are almost certain to become victims of hysteria.' 'The middle classes are, comparatively speaking, relatively free of it'—certainly an interesting clinical observation, if correct.

A number of cases are presented to illustrate different types of hysteria and their successful treatment. In all of these, the so-called 'flight from reality' is emphasized. For instance, under one example entitled *Shifting the Emotional Gears* Sadler states: 'For five years she came to the office off and on, insisting there was something wrong with her physically. For five years *she resisted and resented the diagnosis of hysteria*. Finally, after a very thoroughgoing reëxamination, and a very impressive consultation with four or five doctors, she accepted the psychiatric diagnosis. For the last five years she has been undergoing a continuous training.' Again: 'A perfect type of the psychoneurosis is (in most instances) ambulatory automatism; what the newspapers call "amnesia". . . . What has happened? *Such a patient has always run away from something*. For adequate reasons, he doesn't abscond or elope or run away in the usual conscious way. He passes into a state of secondary consciousness and in that runs away. The secondary consciousness is his alibi. Hysteria is just that; or just like that.' Sometimes not only the individual runs away but, as it were, different parts of him run away. 'At times there seems to be a real mental insufficiency which results in the *vegetative nervous system's engaging in wild, runaway performances* affecting various parts of the body and the patient's general behavior.'

Unfortunately, while Sadler does not deny the existence of the unconscious, he confuses the tendencies of the ego with those of the id. For instance, on p. 690, he catalogs 'the subconscious motives' (a term which he prefers to use instead of 'unconscious') in such a way as to leave little doubt that he has in mind only con-

scious ones—craving for attention, desire for compensation, financial or otherwise, the desire for security, etc. It is quite natural, therefore, that at times he encounters difficulty in unraveling his cases. 'It is not always easy to uncover the transactions of the deep subconscious, thereby learning how some reaction pattern has been severed from its original association, only to become attached to a new group of behavior reaction.' Adult and infantile sexuality are confused: 'In most instances, where the sex element enters into the causation of this or other forms of nervousness, the victims are more or less unconscious of its presence.'

Of the eight different psychiatric schools mentioned in the historical introduction, Sadler gives more attention to the freudian than to any of the others, though he makes somewhat indiscriminate use of concepts whose paternity can be readily guessed, as when he says, 'The up-to-date psychiatrist does not hesitate to appropriate and utilise the subjectivism of the introspectionists, the conditioned reflexes of the behaviorists, the concepts of ceaseless compensations advocated by the Freudians, the common-factor-activity doctrines of the self-psychologies, the non-mechanistic implication of the purposive psychologies, and even does not disdain the concept of some of the functional psychologies . . .' (p. 11). For instance, the following definition of hysteria might be attributed to Janet: 'Doctors disagree as to what the disorder really is, but I have come to look upon it as a species of hereditary deficiency in nervous self-control . . .' (p. 666), or the following statement to Adler: 'Subsequent study of the problem suggests that such a hysteria [i.e. conversion hysteria] is very apt to arise, not only out of repressed wishes, but from long-standing consciousness of *organ-inferiority*. . . .' Psychoanalytic concepts, however, are treated in a less cavalier fashion. They are usually definitely attributed to Freud, but either misquoted, discredited, or mutilated in such a fashion that they are quite incomprehensible. As an example of the former, is the statement, 'It is the claim of Freud and his followers that this so-called unconscious or sub-conscious mind possesses all the qualities of consciousness except awareness'. An example of mutilation is the description of hysteria attributed to Freud on p. 663. No reference is given. It is actually a very poor translation of a passage taken verbatim from an early article by Freud on hysteria which may be found in Volume 2, p. 57, of his translated works, English edition. The passage as translated by

Sadler is unintelligible. Another example is the following comment on compulsions (p. 515): 'Freud thinks obsessions developed as the result of imperfect repressions of some wish; when the obsession is marked or involves a group of muscles, he is inclined to regard it as "conversion hysteria"—the displacement of the repressed wish or fear.'

In the chapter on manic-depressive disorders, the only allusion to psychoanalysis is a paragraph taken directly from Outlines of Psychiatry by William A. White in which there is a short quotation from Freud's article on Mourning and Melancholia which is so abbreviated as to be incomprehensible to the general reader. In a chapter on Paranoiac Types the only allusion to analytic concepts is the following brief statement: 'The Freudian school has laid particular stress on repressed homosexual longings and cases of this nature have been described by Ferenczi.' However, in another paragraph, this is discredited: 'Homosexuality may be a factor in the ætiology of paranoia, but in my personal experience, I have not found it to be a large one.' Sadler's real opinion about analysis is expressed in no uncertain terms in the following statement in the chapter on Psychotherapeutics: '*The time has come to utter both protest and warning against this tendency to over-direct psychiatry into sordid sexual channels.*'

Sadler's book deserves scant recommendation with respect to psychoanalysis, nor can it be praised for its treatment of orthodox psychiatry. The classification of the neuroses is cumbersome and unnecessarily complicated. New groups are introduced which refer to symptomatology rather than to pathological entities such as for instance the terms The Inadequacy States, The Inhibition States, Mild Depressive States, The Fatigue Neuroses, etc. The book is too voluminous to be useful as a textbook and too discursive to be classified as a book of reference.

SYDNEY G. BIDDLE (PHILADELPHIA)

PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX—A MANUAL FOR STUDENTS. By Havelock Ellis, M.D. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1934. 370 pp.

In his medical student days Havelock Ellis was annoyed that he was taught much about the human body and its ills but nothing about human nature. In gynecology lectures he learned that sex was only

a physical matter of health or disease. He reacted to the prudery of Charcot's time by becoming an artist in the Ellisian sense—an artist of life who blends with scientific light the 'sweetness' of aesthetic penetration—and has since devoted his life to research and education in the sexual field. His vocation for this task is witnessed by the monumental *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, the fact that he was one of the very first to introduce Nietzsche and Freud to English readers, and by his reputation as one of the great sanative influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The present volume is a concise manual for the general physician and medical student.

The tenor of the book does not always reflect Ellis' declaration in its preface that his attitude to psychoanalysis has been sympathetic though never partisan. While, in general, his attitude toward psychoanalysis is very friendly, his attitude to psychoanalytic theory is a sympathetic acceptance of its pregenital concepts and a rejection of its genital concepts that seems partisan, for instance, in his preference for quoting Rank as the supporting authority for his own bias against Freud's theories of the *œdipus* and castration complexes.

The chapter entitled *The Sexual Impulse in Youth* gives a lucid account of the pregenital stages and of their contributions to sexual life. But Ellis is dubious of the *œdipus* complex which 'might be present in constitutionally neurotic subjects, especially under the influence of injudicious parental behavior such as favoritism or careless neglect', and he warns against such 'generalization from a single case or even from many cases'. As supporting authority for this doubt, he quotes from Rank that 'the *œdipus* complex is not so clearly found in practice as mythology represents it and as Freud at first believed', and quotes Rank again 'that it has not been easily possible even for the psychoanalysts to maintain it'. Suspect also is the 'castration-complex' of which Ellis states, 'It is not easy to assert that these feelings count for much in ordinary children, though Freud has gone so far as to claim not only that the castration-complex may play a large part in the formation of the neuroses but even in the formation of character in the healthy child'.

Chapter IV on *Sexual Deviation* describes the sexual perversions as pregenital fixations and contains excellent brief descriptions of them from a psychoanalytic frame of reference.

The chapter on homosexuality refers only to overt homosexuality, which Ellis considers, with Krafft-Ebbing and Hirschfeld, a con-

genital anomaly akin to a biological variation and due to 'imperfect sexual differentiation'. 'The heredity of inversion is well marked, though it has sometimes been denied; sometimes a brother and sister, a mother and son, an uncle and nephew are both inverted, unknown to each other.' He finds hereditary inversion in 35% of homosexuals. Freud in his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* has shown the futility of this approach to the understanding of homosexuality, and informs the problem with a theory full of new insight; although each chapter of Ellis' book ends with a bibliography, this chapter does not refer to Freud's historic paper. Ellis dismisses the psychoanalytic treatment of homosexuality with the statement: 'I do not know of any case in which a complete and permanent transformation of homosexuality into heterosexuality was achieved'; he adds that some homosexuals have found the benefit of increased self-knowledge from psychoanalysis while others have not, also that 'there is now a tendency among psychoanalysts to recognize that when the state of inversion is fixed (whether or not it is regarded as innate), it is useless to apply psychoanalysis in the expectation of a change in sexual direction'. Psychoanalysis has demonstrated in the group of overt homosexuals a large number of individuals who do not have the physical characteristics or constitution of the other sex, and whose homosexuality represents a defensive flight from fear—a flight which is specifically a genital one and motivated by repressed fears of heterosexuality. The homosexual of this type is analyzable and curable if for any reason he becomes sufficiently inwardly dissatisfied with homosexuality to seek treatment.

In his discussion of frigidity, Ellis manifests an optimism analysts would like to share if they could: 'The chief reason why women are considered frigid lies less in themselves than in the man who fails to play his natural part in educating his wife in the life of sex.' Also 'Due attention to the preliminary courtship of the act of intercourse and to the method most suitable for adoption suffices to cure the majority of cases of sexual frigidity in women.'

In the concluding chapters, *Marriage* and *The Art of Love*, Ellis is at his artistic best—aesthetic penetration blended with scientific knowledge. It is regrettable, however, that a book intended to orient medical practitioners and students in both the art and the science of sex takes no cognizance of the unconscious homosexual

trends upon whose strength there often founders more of heterosexual happiness than from any lack of education in sexual art.

The book closes with a glossary wherein occurs the following unfortunate definition: 'Œdipus Complex. Early attachment to the mother accompanied by jealous hostility to the father, which Freud originally regarded as a general psychic phenomenon with far-reaching significance.'

HARRY B. LEVEY (CHICAGO)

MODERN DISCOVERIES IN MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Clifford Allen, M.D. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London, 1937. 280 pp.

A real debt is owed to Dr. Allen by those interested in acquiring some understanding of the history of modern psychological thought without the necessity of delving into original writings or elaborate expositions of the various points of view which have been developed.

He starts by explaining that the volume deals with studies of morbid psychology rather than with those of the psychological laboratory, and points out that studies of abnormal or aberrant mental processes have contributed very largely to our better understanding of the dynamics of normal mental functioning.

Taking Mesmer as the first experimenter of any note in this field, he traces the growing understanding of observational data through the two hundred years that have lapsed since his birth. As significant contributors to our modern ideology he has selected Janet, Morton Prince, Freud, Adler, Jung, Kretschmer, and Pavlov. In each instance he gives a summarized account of their contributions to the field of morbid psychology, appends a remarkably unbiased criticism, and evaluates their place in the history of modern psychotherapy.

Two chapters are devoted to the work of Freud and the Psychoanalytical School, and the author makes it clear that he considers their contributions to modern psychotherapy of the utmost importance.

Adler is criticised for his repudiation of the significance of unconscious processes, Jung for his preoccupation with mythology.

The story of the schism between Freud and Jung is very incomplete, the author apparently assuming that the basic reason was Jung's aversion to regarding sexuality with an objective scientific

interest or to giving it the importance in the etiology of neuroses attributed to it by Freud. The fact of the matter is rather that Jung became fascinated by certain phenomena of the unconscious that lay outside the field of infantile sexuality, became convinced that certain neuroses could be explained only through a fuller understanding of their nature, and decided to devote his main interest to pursuing this investigation.

Pavlov's work is considered by the author as even more fundamental than that of Freud, despite the fact that it has not contributed much so far to the treatment of the neuroses and psychoses. It is pointed out that much of Pavlov's experimental work has brought out results that have confirmed the findings at which Freud arrived through the very different approach afforded by psychoanalysis.

To sum up, the author shows a scholarly and scientific attitude towards his subject. His heroes are well chosen and their contributions fairly evaluated. The chain of connection between the contributions of each is interestingly and skilfully woven. This book should be of considerable use to psychiatrists for the purpose of educating such of their patients as might be benefited by such reading, and to physicians and medical students as a ready-to-hand summary of the history of our modern conceptions of psychopathology, as well as affording some basis for comparative judgment of the therapeutic advances made possible by the various schools of thought and their leaders.

JOHN A. P. MILLET (NEW YORK)

CURRENT PSYCHOANALYTIC LITERATURE

The International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol. XVIII, Parts 2 and 3, April-July, 1937.

EDWARD GLOVER:	}	Symposium on the Theory of the Therapeutic Results of Psycho-analysis.
OTTO FENICHEL:		
JAMES STRACHEY:		
EDMUND BERGLER:		
H. NUNBERG:		
E. BIBRING:		
EDWARD GLOVER:		Unconscious Functions of Education.
EDMUND BERGLER:		Further Observations on the Clinical Picture of 'Psychogenic Oral Aspermia'.
G. BOSE:		The Duration of Coitus.
MARJORIE BRIERLEY:		Affects in Theory and Practice.
S. H. FUCHS:		On Introjection.
MAXIM. STEINER:		The Dream Symbolism of the Analytical Situation.

Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse. Vol. XXIII, Number 1, 1937.

SIGMUND FREUD:	Lou Andreas-Salomé.
SYMPOSIUM ÜBER DIE THEORIE DER THERAPEUTISCHEN RESULTATE. (<i>Symposium on the Theory of the Therapeutic Results of Psychoanalysis.</i>) [Entire symposium with the exception of <i>Der Heilungsfaktor der analytischen Behandlung</i> is published in English in The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. XVIII, Parts 2 and 3, April-July, 1937.]	
EDMUND BERGLER:	Zur Theorie der therapeutischen Resultate der Psychoanalyse (<i>On the Theory of Therapeutic Results in Psychoanalysis</i>).
EDWARD BIBRING:	Versuch einer allgemeinen Theorie der Heilung (<i>An Attempt at a General Theory of Cure</i>).
OTTO FENICHEL:	Die Wirksamkeit der psychoanalytischen Therapie (<i>The Effectiveness of Psychoanalytic Therapy</i>).
EDWARD GLOVER:	Die Grundlagen der therapeutischen Resultate (<i>The Fundamentals of Therapeutic Results</i>).
RENÉ LAFORGUE:	Der Heilungsfaktor der analytischen Behandlung (<i>The Healing Factor in Analytic Treatment</i>).
HERMANN NUNBERG:	Beiträge zur Theorie der Therapie (<i>Contributions to the Theory of Therapy</i>).
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FRANZ ALEXANDER:	Das Problem der psychoanalytischen Technik (<i>The Problem of Psychoanalytic Technique</i>). [Published in this QUARTERLY, Vol. IV, No. 4, October, 1935.]
THOMAS M. FRENCH:	Klinische Untersuchung über das Lernen im Verlauf einer psychoanalytischen Behandlung. (<i>A Clinical Study of Learning in the Course of a Psychoanalytic Treatment</i>). [Published in English in this QUARTERLY, Vol. V, No. 2, April, 1936.]
M. N. SEARL:	Zur Problematik der technischen Prinzipien (<i>Some Queries on Principles of Technique</i>). [Published in English in the Int. J. of Ps-A., Vol. XVII, part 4, October, 1936.]

Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse. Vol. XXIII, Number 2, 1937.

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- ERNEST JONES: Die Zukunft der Psychoanalyse (*The Future of Psychoanalysis*).
- PAUL FEDERN: Die leitungslose Funktion im Zentralnervensystem (*The Function of the Central Nervous System other than Conduction*).
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- EIITI NOBUSIMA: Mann und Weib in Geschlechtsleben (*Sexual Life of Man and Woman*).
- SHUJITU TUTIYA: Unbewusste Psychologie der beiden Geschlechter (*The Unconscious Psychology of the Two Sexes*).
- YAEKITI YABE: Widerstand der Japaner gegen Psychoanalyse (*Resistance of the Japanese to Psychoanalysis*).
- RENKITI KIMURA: Männer und Weiber in Schizophrenie (*Schizophrenia in Men and Women*).
- KIUSABURO KATO: Über die Genesis des Kastrationskomplexes (F. Alexander) (*On the Genesis of the Castration Complex [F. Alexander]*).
- HAJA NAKAO: Symbolik der Rechte und Linke (W. Wolff) (*Symbolism of the Right and the Left [W. Wolff]*).
- SIITI OHTSKA: Analyse eines Kindes von Essstörung (*Analysis of the Disturbance in Eating in a Child*).
- R. KITAYAMA: Über einen Fall von Gamophobie (D. Feigenbaum) (*On a Case of Gamophobia [D. Feigenbaum]*). [Dr. Feigenbaum's article was published under the title *Psychoanalytic Diagnosis in a Case of Gamophobia* in English in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, XVII, 1930.]
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Annals of Internal Medicine, Vol. XI, Number 1, July, 1937.

- CARL BINGER: The Psychobiology of Breathing.

Archivio Generale di Neurologia, Psichiatria, e Psicoanalisi, Vol. XVIII, Number 3, July-September, 1937.

- EDWARD HITSCHMANN: Brahms e le donne (*Brahms and Women*).

NOTES

THE CHICAGO INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS has reported the following activities during the year 1936-1937, from October 1 to June 30: *I. Research.* The research work of the Institute has this year been concentrated chiefly upon the asthma problem. The material consists of three hay fever and sixteen asthma cases analyzed by twelve physicians. Some of these cases have now already completed their analysis and regular discussions of these cases are being continued by the entire group. In addition to the discussion of cases an attempt is being made to check some of the tentative formulations upon a larger number of cases by the use of the Murray Tests in which the fantasy productions stimulated by a standard set of pictures form the basis for a rough estimate of some of the characteristic mechanisms in the patient's personality. Work is also being continued upon the respiratory curves and hypertension and upon dream mechanisms. *II. Professional Training.* The following courses were presented during the fiscal year 1936-1937, from October 1 to June 30: For Members of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Society and Candidates of the Institute: Franz Alexander, M.D., and Therese Benedek, M.D., Clinical Conferences; Thomas M. French, M.D., Quantitative and Comparative Dream Studies; Leon J. Saul, M.D., Seminar on Freud's Case Histories; Thomas M. French, M.D., Mechanism of Individual Neuroses; Thomas M. French, M.D., Dream Seminar; Thomas M. French, M.D., Seminar on Review of Psychoanalytic Literature; Therese Benedek, M.D., Seminar on Freud's Papers on Technique; Franz Alexander, M.D., Technique of Dream Interpretation; Franz Alexander, M.D., Theory and Technique of the Psychoanalytic Therapy. For Professional Groups: Franz Alexander, M.D., and Thomas M. French, M.D., Psychoanalytic Interpretations of Psychotic Cases; Helen V. McLean, M.D., Application of Psychoanalysis to Literature; Leon J. Saul, M.D., and Catherine Bacon, M.D., Case Seminar for Psychiatric Social Workers; Franz Alexander, M.D., Psychological Problems in Social Case Work; Gregory Zilboorg, M.D., History of Medical Psychology; Gregory Zilboorg, M.D., Psychology and Sociology of Suicide.

THE NEW YORK PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE. The Educational Committee offers the following courses during the academic year 1937-1938, beginning the first week in October, 1937: Fall and Winter Term (October-March) 1 Psychopathology of the Neuroses and Psychoses—10 lectures on Mondays alternating with course 2, beginning October 4th from 8:30 to 10 P.M. Dr. Sandor Rado. 2 Advanced Clinical Conferences—10 sessions on Mondays alternating with course 1, beginning October 11th from 8:30 to 10:30 P.M. Dr. Sandor Rado. 3 Freud's Case Histories—seminar—15 sessions on Fridays, beginning October 8th at 8:30 P.M. Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie. 4 Experimental Aspects of Child Psychology—seminar—6 sessions on Wednesdays alternating with course 5, beginning October 6th at 8:30 P.M. Dr. David M. Levy. 5 Case Seminar on Medical Child Analysis—6 sessions on Wednesdays alternating with course 4, beginning October 13th at 8:30 P.M. Dr. David M. Levy. 6 On Narcissistic Phenomena—

6 lectures on Thursdays, beginning November 4th at 8:30 P.M. Dr. Karen Horney. 7 Clinical Conferences—8 sessions (February–March, 1938—Dates to be arranged). Dr. Sandor Lorand. Spring Term (April–June) 1 Dynamic Sociology—seminar—10 sessions (Dates to be arranged). Dr. A. Kardiner. 2 Clinical Conferences—8 sessions (Dates to be arranged). Dr. Karen Horney. Course I is open to (a) members of the Institute, (b) students in training and (c) extension students on special application. Course II is open to (a) members of the Institute and (b) senior students in training. The decision as to eligibility to any course is vested in the Educational Committee.

THE WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY. There was a meeting of the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Society at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., on Saturday, October 9, 1937. Dr. Benjamin Weininger read a paper entitled: The Psychotherapy of Post Psychotic Patients. Dr. William Silverberg is conducting a seminar on The Literature of Psychoanalysis.

THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL OF PSYCHIATRY has announced the following lectures and seminars for the year 1937–1938: Clinical Conference by Lewis B. Hill, M.D., and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, M.D.; The Literature of Psychoanalysis by Lucile Dooley, M.D., and William V. Silverberg, M.D.; Patterns of Patient-Physician Relationship by Ernest E. Hadley, M.D., and Harry Stack Sullivan, M.D.; Discussion Groups.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY GROUP OF LOS ANGELES reports that during the past working year the following papers were read and discussions held: Dr. Franz Alexander, Hysterical Conversion Symptoms and Organ Neuroses. (Guest.) Dr. Fritz Wittels, The Protophallic Psychopath. (Guest.) Dr. Franz Cohn, The Influence of the Erotogenic Zones on the Psyche. Mrs. Francis Deri, Identification and Hysterical Symptom. Prof. Paul Epstein, The Ego and the Defense Mechanisms by Anna Freud. Dr. Karl Menninger, Unconscious Motives of Suicide. (Guest.) Miss Helen Powner, Homosexuality as a Problem in Juvenile Delinquency. Mrs. Marjorie Leonard, Transference and Education. To the two already existing seminars: Theorie and Practice of the Psychoanalytic Method, conducted by Dr. Ernst Simmel, and Freud's Case Histories, conducted by Mrs. Francis Deri, two other seminars were added: 2. A Literary Seminar conducted by Dr. Ernst Simmel. This seminar was devoted to the study of the important older and new publications on Psychoanalysis. The following essays were discussed: Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality by Ferenczi; The Problem of Acceptance of Unpleasant Ideas by Ferenczi; Destruction as a Cause of Being by Spielrein; Negation by Freud. The seminar then began a study of the literature dealing with the differences in the sexual development of man and woman. The first discussion followed Karl Abraham's essay on: Manifestations of the Female Castration Complex. 2. An Education Seminar conducted by Dr. Ernst Simmel and Dr. David Brunswick. This seminar was open to members and guests of the Psycho-

analytic Study Group of Los Angeles who have a special interest in the field of education, such as members of the staffs of several schools in Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and Pasadena (Calif.) and to social workers of local welfare organizations. In this seminar, teachers presented for psychoanalytic discussions problem cases met with in their work. Besides, reports on the psychoanalytic-pedagogical literature were given by analysts. In addition, Dr. Simmel will give a series of lectures in the fall on the Structure and Dynamics of the Personality. Attendance at these lectures will be obligatory for all seminar members and for those people who want to become permanent guests of the Study Group. On the occasion of Professor Freud's 80th birthday celebration, the Study Group collected a fund of \$250.00 in order to establish a library. The library consists now of 50 volumes. The building up of the library is continued by a regular contribution from the members and permanent guests. The library receives regularly the following periodicals: *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Paedagogik*, *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* (Topeka). The membership of the group consists of 17 regular members, two associate members and 14 permanent guests.

THE MENNINGER CLINIC of Topeka, Kansas, announces four residencies a year which have been approved by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association for the Menninger Sanitarium. Residency periods begin January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1. Minimum requirements for candidacy are graduation from an approved medical school and the completion of an internship in an approved hospital. The salary for residents is \$120 a month without maintenance. Didactic instruction is arranged with the staff members, and the residents are eligible to attend seminar discussion groups, staff conferences, the sessions of the postgraduate courses for nurses and for physicians, and class work in neurology, neuropathology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE gave the following program at its meeting held in the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, on November tenth: Address of Welcome and Brief Account of the Present Work of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Arthur H. Ruggles, M.D., President of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene; Present Problems of Mental Health in Russia, Ira S. Wile, M.D., Symposium: The Challenge of Sex Offenders, Introductory Remarks by the Chairman, Edward A. Strecker, M.D.; New York's Present Problem, Hon. Austin H. McCormick, Commissioner of Correction, New York City; Psychiatric Aspects of the Problem, Karl M. Bowman, M.D.; Legal and Administrative Problems in Dealing with Sex Offenders, Winfred Overholser, M.D., Superintendent, St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C.

THE LONDON CLINIC OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS has issued a decennial report for the years May, 1926-May, 1936. The report, a forty-two page brochure, contains

an editorial note and the History of the London Clinic of Psycho-Analysis by Ernest Jones, Director of the Institute and Clinic, who makes, in addition, a Report of the Clinic Work. There follows a Report on Training by Edward Glover, a Library Report by Barbara Low, an account of Public Lectures given during the ten-year period by John Rickman, a statement of the Finances of the Clinic by Douglas Bryan, and a list of Publications, 1926-1936.

THE EDITORS OF THE PSYCHOANALYTIC QUARTERLY invite authors of articles appearing in other journals that may be of psychoanalytic interest, to send reprints to THE QUARTERLY office that notice may be given the articles in the Current Psychoanalytic Literature section.

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